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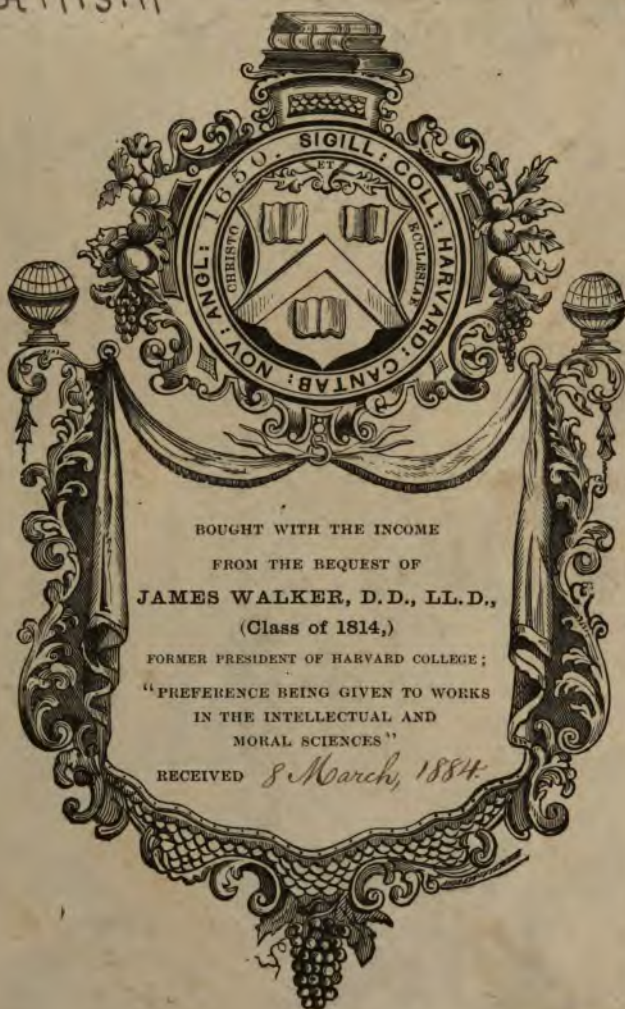
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"LUTHER VINDICATED."

BY

CHARLES HASTINGS COLLETTE.

"All the rich mines of learning ransack'd are,
To furnish ammunition for this war;
Uncharitable zeal their reason whets,
And double edges on their weapon sets,"

DENHAM.

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PREFACE.

LUTHER has ever been, at the hands of Roman Priests, the subject of the most virulent abuse and coarse invective as a libertine and blasphemer. LUTHER's whole life and character, heart, and mind were identified with one great work—the Reformation of the Church from the corruptions by which priestcraft had almost changed Christianity into heathenism. Having emancipated himself from the thralldom of superstition, hosts upon hosts followed him. He denounced the rapacity, vice, ignorance, and licentiousness of the priesthood from the Pope downwards. Hence the invectives and slanders that have been unsparingly heaped upon him by every Romanist who takes pen in hand, and by all those of the Newman, Ward, and Sabine Baring-Gould school, who would fain bring us back to the bondage and superstition of the Middle Ages. The best vindication of Luther is his own works. To distort and misquote these, therefore, has been the study of his opponents, “whose gall coins slander like a mint.” Luther's early writings, when he was first emerging from darkness into light, are ransacked, while his maturer works are avoided or ignored. His rugged, and sometimes what would be now considered coarse, expressions, principally found

in the "Table Talk" and his early writings, and some startling sentiments advanced as a paradox, may offend the delicate ear, and have certainly given occasion for his opponents to turn them to his prejudice; but we must look to the times in which he wrote, and the subjects he had to write upon, and the system he had to expose. On this AURIFABER, in his preface to the first edition of the "Table Talk," remarked: "The reader who reads the matter will not be offended with some obsolete words in Luther's discourses, for even this simplicity in the manner of writing is characteristic of those ancient times in which truth was respected for her inward beauty, not for her dress."

LUTHER is in no way responsible for the statements made in the "Table Talk." This book occupied two folio volumes, first published some twenty-three years after his death, and purports to be a reproduction of conversations at convivial meetings, alleged to have taken place with intimate friends, during several years of his lifetime, and never intended for publication. If, however, LUTHER, in these convivial meetings, used expressions which would, in this more refined age, when outward decency is observed, be toned down, his illustrations of the vices of Popes, Priests, and people generally, were not the less true, nor was the language inconsistent with the custom of the age, some three hundred and fifty years ago. In these reproductions we meet with no unseemly or ribald jokes. But throughout all his more mature works, and even in this very "Table Talk," there breathes forth a fervent piety, a God-fearing, God-loving holiness, a loftiness of conception, which places him far above his puny and narrow-

minded assailants. It was Archdeacon HARE who observed that Luther's intense love of truth revolts those who dally with truth; they play tricks with it until they cease to discern the distinction between truth and falsehood.

The proposed celebration of the Four-hundredth anniversary of Luther's birth has called forth from Romish Pulpits and Press a repetition of the oft-refuted calumnies against the great Reformer of the sixteenth century. This fact has suggested the re-issue, in one volume, of stray Articles on the subject, which I have, from time to time, contributed to various Journals.

In Part I., I have given a critical, and somewhat minute examination of two Lectures delivered by the Rev. SABINE BARING-GOULD, a professed Minister of the (Reformed) Established Church of England, entitled, *Luther and Justification*. In Part II., I have examined, and I trust satisfactorily answered, various other popular charges made against Luther and his writings, which have not come directly within the scope of Mr. BARING-GOULD's Lectures.

It is hoped that the present volume will be welcome as well at the present moment as for the future, in affording ready replies to the merciless attacks on LUTHER.

I cannot conclude these few observations without reproducing the short but patriotic and heart-stirring address of the IMPERIAL CROWN PRINCE OF GERMANY, on the opening of the LUTHER HALL, on the occasion of the recent LUTHER FESTIVAL at Wittenberg:—
“May this festival serve as a holy exhortation to us to uphold the great benefits of the REFORMATION with the same courage as was displayed in acquiring them for

us. May it, above all, strengthen us in the resolution to be ready at all times to defend the EVANGELICAL CREED, and with it liberty of conscience and religious toleration. The strength and essence of PROTESTANTISM do not rest upon any stiff form of written words, but in the striving after the knowledge of Christian truth. May LUTHER'S anniversary help to strengthen Protestant feeling, preserve the German Evangelical Church from disunion, and lay for her the foundation of lasting peace."

C. H. C.

10th November, 1883.

PREFACE TO PART I.

“ En vérité, mes Pères, voilà le moyen de vous faire croire, jusqu'à ce qu'on vous réponde ; mais c'est aussi le moyen de faire qu'on ne vous croye jamais plus, après qu'on vous aura répondu.”—PASCAL.

THE Rev. Dr. Littledale, in his now notorious Lecture against the Anglican Reformers, entitled “Ritualistic Innovations,” fairly puts his hearers on their guard. He said :—“ I am not here to-night in a judicial capacity, to sum up impartially for plaintiff and defendant alike, and to leave you, as the jury, to draw your own conclusions. I discharge the functions of Counsel,—bound, indeed, to allege no falsehood for my clients nor against their opponent, *but in no way responsible* for stating the case against myself.” While we admit the candour of the lecturer, we cannot commend the morality of Ritualists, taking the Rev. Doctor as a fair type of the school. In secular matters we,—at least, such of us laymen as have a reputation to maintain,—consider it a duty to tell not only *the truth*, but *the whole truth and nothing but the truth* ; more especially when we are dealing with the character of the departed. The Rev. S. Baring-Gould, however, by his Lectures on “Luther and Justification,” if I understand him rightly, professes *to tell the whole truth and nothing but the truth* ; whereas, truth, as far as I can judge, appears to be the very last object sought

to be conveyed by his Lectures. If, in the products of genius, art is displayed in concealing art, taking these Lectures as a sample of Ritualistic morality, the art displayed by Ritualists is in endeavouring to conceal truth. The affected candour exhibited by the rev. gentleman is somewhat amusing. In answer to one of my letters, requesting explanations of some of his quotations, he writes :—"I have made a *mistake in one passage I have quoted* on the authority of Möhler, which I intend to correct when I have an opportunity. Far be it from me to wish to do an injustice to Luther or any man, and to misrepresent him"!!

The simplicity of this passage is truly charming! A mistake in *one* passage, indeed, when the entire pamphlet is made up of a continuous series of misquotations, mistranslations, misrepresentations, as well of Luther's text as of his doctrinal teaching. I have successively replied to three leading works, which I believe have hitherto been unsurpassed for the mass of misquotations and historical and literary misrepresentations which they contain; I allude to Dr. Wiseman's lectures on "The Catholic Church," Dr. Milner's "End of Religious Controversy," and Cobbett's "History of the Protestant Reformation." Taking into consideration the relative bulk of these three volumes, compared with the Rev. S. Baring-Gould's pamphlet on "Luther and Justification," I unhesitatingly give the palm to the latter as far surpassing the three others named in the above specialities.

Alluding to the author of these Lectures, the Romish paper, *The Weekly Register*, in their issue of August 11, 1883, in a series of articles against

Luther, calls attention to the Rev. S. Baring-Gould, as "this fair-minded Protestant, who had already made inquiries on the field over which we (the Editor) are again called to travel." A Protestant, forsooth! The rev. gentlemen of his school disclaim the title of Protestant. These Lectures, on the score of misquotations and virulence, equal the productions of any of the numerous libellers of Luther and his writings.

It would weary the reader were I to take each quotation and assertion, and reply to them *seriatim*. I have, therefore, selected some of the more striking passages, which the reader will please to accept as fair samples of the charges brought against Luther; and then to form his own judgment and conclusions as to the want, or otherwise, of fair dealing and truthfulness exhibited in these Lectures by the Rev. S. Baring-Gould.

PART I.

THE REV. S. BARING-GOULD

ON

"LUTHER AND JUSTIFICATION."

THE REPLY.

"Soft you ; a word or two before you go."—*Othello*.

A CHARACTERISTIC feature of the Ritualistic school is that its members are singularly unanimous in their hatred of the Reformers and the Reformation. This antipathy is exhibited on every available occasion. Protestantism is repudiated by them as a heresy, while they revel in the title "Catholic." If you are uncertain of your company, casually mention "Foxe's Book of Martyrs," and you will find it operate as the proverbial red rag. We have had lately a notable example in Dr. Littledale. In his Lecture, delivered at Liverpool, "On Ritualistic Innovations," he declared that "even the best of the lay and clerical Scotch and English Reformers were a set of miscreants, and others generally licentious infidels"; Bishop Burnet and Foxe the martyrologist were "mendacious and infamous partisans"; Cranmer was "a thief and a liar"; and Latimer a "miscreant." He tells us that "the Jacobins sinned deeply in cruelty and licentious foulness, but in all these peculiarities they were left far behind by the leaders of the Reformation." "Robespierre, Danton, Marat, St. Just, Couthon, and

the like, the celebrities of the French Revolution, merit quite as much respect as Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, and others." This is bold and outspoken language.

. Men that make
 Envy and crooked malice nourishment
 Dare bite the best.—SHAKESPEARE, *Henry VIII.*

The Rev. Sabine Baring-Gould, the late Vicar of East Mersea, is a fair type of this school, and now takes his turn in equally plain language against the great German Reformer, Luther. These gentlemen sigh for pre-Reformation days when the priest ruled and the sacramental system flourished, to the glorification of the priest, and ignorance, superstition, thralldom, and degradation of the people.

A noted political writer said: "I have uniformly observed, in my perusal of history, that the increase of ignorance and of oppression always kept pace with clerical power."¹

To regain the ascendancy of the priesthood, the work of the Reformers must be undone. The Reformers themselves must, therefore, be degraded in the estimation of the people at any cost. With this end in view,—at least, I cannot see what other object was to be attained,—the Rev. S. Baring-Gould has published two Lectures, entitled "Luther and Justification." By stringing together a series of disjointed scraps, forcibly torn from their context, and artistically arranged with an affectation of accuracy by a formidable array of foot references, a very plausible *primâ facie* case is made out. I would venture to hope, however, that the rev. gentleman has not read the originals of the numerous works purported to be quoted by him (the extracts are, in fact, for the most part, the usual round of Popish quotations; there is a remarkable resemblance in all these reproductions),

¹ "Political Register," Cobbett, vol. xxvi. 349, 350.

otherwise, my observations would take a positive and personal form.¹ In any event, the Lectures are as gross a libel on that great Reformer, the godly and God-fearing man, Martin Luther, as could possibly be produced. We are told of the atheist who said that we learn from the Bible "that there is no God,"² of the Socinian, that Christ came to spread strife and discord in this world instead of peace,³ to set families by the ears,⁴ and that He Himself literally became a curse,⁵ and so on. These are trite illustrations, but when we find a professed Christian Minister of the Reformed Church adopt the very same exceptional course with the writings of Luther, and thus hold him up to us as a self-convicted, depraved monster, it becomes the duty of all who love the truth to raise the voice of protest and warning, and expose the art and malignity displayed by these traducers of the dead.

The Rev. S. Baring-Gould reproduces the slander of others who have gone before him. He has shown himself to be an industrious compiler. He passes current with some as a learned man, a man of antiquarian research. It is deeply to be regretted to find a man thus gifted prostitute his energies by repro-

¹ In reply to my application to the Rev. S. Baring-Gould whether he had personally examined the originals from which he professes to quote, thus making himself responsible for their accuracy, he wrote with characteristic evasion:—"All such quotations as I have not myself verified in my lectures on Luther are taken from Dr. Döllinger's great work 'Die Reformation,' &c. I was in correspondence with him about translating this work at the time the lectures were delivered, but other literary work has prevented my undertaking it." Thus avoiding a direct reply to my question, though certainly not bound to answer it. It is a significant fact, however, that we have here a Minister of the Reformed Church,—which Reformation was begun by the great Luther,—seeking the material for his lectures against Luther from the work of a leading divine of the unreformed Church, the greatest opponent to which was Luther himself. This is certainly a new interpretation of the saying, "Fas est et ab hoste doceri."

² Pal. xiv. 1. ³ Mat. x. 34. ⁴ Luke xii. 51, 53. ⁵ Gal. iii. 13.

ducing the calumnies of others, for (to borrow a phrase from Archdeacon Hare on the same subject, as applied to Dr. Mill) he has committed the same sin of citing the same mutilated passages, with the purpose of holding up Luther to condemnation. Yes; sin it is, and sin it ought to be called, so long as the Ninth Commandment keeps its place in the Decalogue, to take up slander hastily, without examination, and to repeat it, and circulate it through the world, and that, too, against a man whose memory has been an object of deep reverence to millions for twelve generations. In fact, the higher the repute of him who does so, the more such conduct ought to be reprobated.

I wish it in the outset to be distinctly understood that I charge the Rev. S. Baring-Gould:—

1. With misrepresenting the teaching of the Church on the doctrine of Justification by Faith at the time when Luther wrote, and which he assailed.

2. With misrepresenting Luther's teaching on the same doctrine.

3. With mistranslating Luther's writings.

4. With misquoting Luther's words; and,

5. With misinterpreting Luther's text.

According to this rev. gentleman, Luther preached and wrote, under the doctrine of "Justification by Faith," the most soul-destroying, diabolical system that could be devised by Satan himself. He deliberately asserts that Luther taught that "good works were prejudicial"; that "conscience was the voice of Satan"; and "morality an impediment to justification";¹ "if in faith adultery be committed, it is not a sin";² and that marriage vows may be disregarded.³ "No acts a man can do, however heinous, are sinful to him who is justified";⁴ that "Christ died in order to allow us to give way at our pleasure to our bestial inclinations";⁵ that "a man being justified solely by imputation of Christ's righteousness, then, as

¹ "Lecture," p. 7.

² p. 17.

³ p. 14.

⁴ p. 6.

⁵ p. 32.

a consequence, he is entirely emancipated from the necessity of attempting to keep the moral law;"¹ that, whereas, "under the Catholic system, morality is binding, and sacraments are necessary, under the Lutheran system neither are of any value whatever."²

Indeed, Satan could not have devised so clumsy a system; for its very extravagant grossness and contradictions would carry its own refutation. And so it would here, if it were not seriously put forward in this enlightened age by a Minister of the Gospel, a man of good report before the world, with a high literary reputation, and apparently supported by an arsenal of references. To sum up his most elaborate indictment, let me at once state that the Rev. S. Baring-Gould charges Luther with teaching that, if we only rely on Christ, and profess to receive our sole justification through Him, we may with impunity commit the grossest crimes to which our mortal natures are prone or exposed; nay, the greater reliance we place in Christ, the greater are our privileges in indulging every deadly sin which otherwise we are taught would everlastingly destroy the soul. Only "admit the Gospel of Christ, and no sin can damn a man."

The rev. gentleman calls in aid a phalanx of accusers to support his case; Papists,—whom he will persist in calling "Catholics,"—Anabaptists, and even Lutherans, are alleged to bear testimony against Luther and his writings. This, indeed, is nothing new, for abuse of Luther personally, and misrepresentation of his writings, were rife even during his lifetime. Luther bitterly complained of this. First, that they brought against him his early writings, when he was, as he designated himself, "a most furious papist," and when he was "merely striving to emerge and force his way out of this thick darkness." Secondly, that they purposely and maliciously per-

¹ "Lecture," pp. 26, 27.

² p. 27.

verted his subsequent and maturer teaching.¹ The former he published as an address to his readers, and

¹ The following is a striking example of this. With reference to Luther having his early writings in favour of Romish doctrines brought in judgment against him, Dr. McCave, a Romish priest, in his lecture reported in *The Midland Counties Express*, after making various statements, that Luther once approved of Purgatory, Confession, &c., adds :—"To that other momentous question—'Is the Bishop of Rome the Vicar of Christ and supreme head under heaven of the Catholic Church?'—the reply was, 'To Rome did Luther appeal again and again for final judgment'; of *the Church of Rome* did Luther once asseverate, 'I give thanks to Jesus Christ for preserving on earth that only Church by a great miracle, and which alone may demonstrate that our faith is true, inasmuch as never, by a single decree, hath she departed from the true faith' Luther, 'Cont. Prier.,' tom. i., p. 177." This extract is a very fair sample of Dr. McCave's hardihood and dexterity in quoting. Luther had been holding an argument with Sylvester Prierias, a Romanist, on the subject of Indulgences, Purgatory, &c., which he strenuously opposed. This discussion is published in the same volume from which the above is taken, and is followed by Luther's own commentaries on the discussion. Prierias was holding up the rule of faith of the Roman Church, which Luther speaks of in derision, and refers to the declaration of Paul in Galatians vi. 14-16: "God forbid that I should glory save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ . . . and as many as walk according to this rule, peace be on them and mercy." It is to the Church that professes this declaration of faith to which Luther refers, and not to the Church of Rome, as the original passage will abundantly testify:—"Secundo miror, quid velis, quod Ecclesiam Romanam fidei regulam vocas. Ego credidi semper quod fides esset regula Romanæ Ecclesiæ, et omnium Ecclesiarum, ut Apostolus Gal. vi. ; Et quicumque hanc regulam secuti fuerint pax super eos, &c. Rogo eosque; dignaris adulari Romanæ Ecclesiæ ut eam permittas discipulam esse fidei, quæ reguletur fide, non regulet fidem. Sed forte, hæc verbi est controversia. Quia Regulam fidei, improprie loquutus, vocas, quod ad eam fidem, quam Romana Ecclesia profitetur, omnium fides debet confirmari; et placet mirifice. Nam et ego gratias ago Christo, quod hanc unam Ecclesiam in terris ita servat ingenti, et quod solum possit probare fidem nostram esse veram, miraculo, ut nunquam a vera fide, ullo suo decreto, recesserit, nec tot barathris pessimorum morum, Diabolus tantum efficere potuit, ut penes hanc non maneret ab origine sua canonicorum Bibliæ librorum et ecclesiasticorum Patrum et interpretum auctoritas et auctoritatis sincera professio, licet multi forte sint nimis qui privatim his liberis prorsus nullam habeant fidem, nec eos curent aut legere aut intelligere." "Responsio de Mar. Luth. ad Dial. F. Sylvest. Prier." Tom. i., p. 176a. Edit. Witenburg. 1545.

it stands as a preface to the first volume of the 1564 Jena edition of his works ; and the latter complaint is repeated continually in his Commentaries on Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, and particularly in his preface to the Smalcalden Articles. Whether the rev. gentleman has been able to consult these works I cannot say. He professes, at least, a most intimate knowledge of every single edition issued of Luther's works ; but, had he done so, he would have paused before he hastily repeated the Popish calumnies he has so industriously collected. Those who cared for the *truth* and feared to commit the grave sin of slander would, one would suppose, have carefully examined the words, argument, and intention of the writer, discovered their real purport and bearing on the subject in hand, and sifted what others, who had already vindicated Luther from these very charges, had already written. Charity would have given Luther the benefit of any doubt as to his purport or intention. But Mr. Baring-Gould's mind and inclination seem to be otherwise constituted.

The two passages above alluded to are as follow :—

“ First of all, I beseech the pious reader—and I beseech him for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake—that he would peruse these my (first) writings with judgment and much commiseration for them ; remembering that I was sometime a monk and a most furious Papist, so overwhelmed and drunk with the Pope's doctrines, when I first set upon this cause, that I was ready, if it had been in my power, to have put all men to death, that would any way gainsay them So that you shall find in these my first books how many things, and how great, I did then grant in my submission to the Pope, which, in time following, and at present, I hold to be abominable, and abhor as the highest blasphemy. Thou wilt, therefore (gentle reader), be pleased to impute this my error, or (as my adversaries call it) this

my contradiction, to the time and the ignorance that was in me." "All things," he adds, "are to be read with judgment, for there are many assertions and arguments in this first volume, which breathe and smell of the lees and bilge-water of Paris and Louvain. You will perceive that I am merely striving to emerge by forcing my way out of this thick darkness."¹

"I thought fit to publish these articles [that is, the articles passed at the Smalcalden League] that they who shall outlive me may have a testimony of my faith and confession agreeable to that which I have published heretofore, wherein as I have hitherto consistently persisted, so, by the grace of God, I propose still for ever hereafter. For what shall I say, or how should I begin my complaint? I am yet alive, and I write books, I preach sermons, and read public lectures every day, *and yet a sort of virulent-minded men* (adversaries and false brethren), that say they are of my mind, will dare to bring my own writings and allege my own doctrine against me, though, in the meanwhile, they know well enough that I hold contrary; hereby covering over their poison with my sayings, and seducing simple persons with my name. *If they do this while I am alive*, and while I look on and hear it, in the name of God, *what will they do when I am dead?* Truly, I should do well to answer them before I die; but how is it possible for me to stop all the mouths of the evil speakers, especially of those men that will neither hear nor mark what I say, but set themselves wholly to pervert my words, and wickedly to deprave them?"²

¹ M. Luth. Oper. Edit. Jena, 1564, tom. i., prop. init. Mart. Lutherus pio Lectori.

² See Articuli Smalcaldicæ, a Mart. Luth. Script., ann. 1537. Præf. sec. Cum autem, &c.: Libr. Symbolic. Eccl. Evan. ed. 8vo., Johannis A. H. Zittman, Lip. 1827, p. 230.

What must be the feelings of the Rev. S. Baring-Gould when he first reads these passages? I do not envy him.

Among others, Erasmus is quoted as challenging Luther "to show him one of his Evangelicals who had become a better Christian by the change" from Popery. Would any Romanist admit the fact, even if a case was proved to him? The reference is "Ed. Lugdun. x. p. 1582" [1703]. If we turn to tom. iii. p. 514, of this edition, we come on a very remarkable passage. Erasmus tells us that he perceived the better any man was, the more he relished the writings of Luther; that his very enemies allowed him to be a man of good life; that he seemed to him to have in his heart certain eminent evangelical sparks; that it was plain that some condemned those things in Luther's writings which in St. Augustine's and St. Bernard's works passed for orthodox and pious.¹ In the same letter, writing to Archbishop Albert, Erasmus continues to say of Luther,—"*that he was accounted a good man even by his enemies, and that the best men were least offended by his writings.*" Again, writing to Laurentius Campegio, he said,—"*I heard distinguished men of approved doctrine and religion congratulate themselves that they had met with this man's books. I saw that whoever was most correct in his morals and nearest to evangelical purity was least offended with Luther. Moreover, his life was commended even by those who were displeased with his doctrine.*" Writing to Ecolampadius, he said that Luther "*meditated on nothing but heavenly things.*" And once again, writing to Cardinal Thomas, he said,—"*The man's life is approved by general consent. Now this is not a slight prepossession in his favour, that so great is his moral*

¹ Erasmi. Epist. ad Albert. Episcop. et Prin. Mogunt. Cardin., tom. iii., p. 514. Lugd. Bat. 1703.

integrity that *even his enemies can find nothing to calumniate.*"¹

And again, Guicciardini, the Italian historian, said—
 "Many conceived that the troubles which were raised against Luther took their original from the *innocency of his life and soundness of his doctrine*, rather than from any other cause."² Even Dr. Lingard, the Romish historian, is constrained to admit that "Martin Luther was a man of ardent mind and unimpeached morals."³

Dr. Robertson, justly styled the British Livy, in his "History of the Reign of Charles V.,"⁴ thus describes Luther's character:—"Zeal for what he regarded as truth, undaunted intrepidity to maintain his own

¹ "Illud video, ut quisque vir est optimus, ita illius scriptis minime offendi." Tom. iii. col. 514. Edit. Lug. Bat. 1703.

"Audiebam eximios viros, probatæ doctrinæ, probatæque religionis, sibi gratulari, quod in hujus viri libros incidissent. Videbam ut quisque esset integerrimis moribus et evangelicæ puritati proximus, ita minime incensum Luthero. Porro vita prædicabatur et ab iis, qui doctrinam non ferebant." Tom. iii. col. 596.

"Hominis vita magno omnium consensu probatur. Jam id non leve præjudicium est, tantam esse morum integritatem, ut nec hostes reperiant quod calumnientur."—Lib. xi. ad Thomam Cardinalem, ep. 317, parag. 7, col. 322, tom. iii.; and col. 367, ep. 354 to Œcolampadius.

² "Come se le persecuzioni nascessero più dalla innocenza della sua vita, et dalla sanità della dottrina, che da altra cagione."—"Hist. Ital." lib. xiii., p. 380. Venice, 1563.

³ "Hist. of England," vol. vi., cap. ii., p. 125. London, 1823. *The Weekly Register* of September 28, 1883, p. 400, having taken exception to this citation from Lingard, says "that I have loosely quoted Dr. Lingard's reference to Luther's morals merely when he was a monk, as if applied by the great Catholic historian to the morals of Luther after his secession from the Church." The passage itself clearly shows that the allusion referred to Luther's character *after* he had left the Church of Rome:—"He (Staupitz) selected a young friar of his own order, Martin Luther, a man of an ardent mind and unimpeached morals *and of strong prejudices against the court of Rome*" (p. 125, vol. vi. 1823). And, although Lingard dedicates about twenty pages to Luther and his doings, all he says against him is that he vehemently abused the Pope; but not one word does he utter to weaken his opinion of Luther's moral character.

⁴ 6th Edit., 1787, vol. iii., B. viii., p. 309 et seq.

system, abilities, both natural and acquired, to defend his principles, and unwearied industry in propagating them, are virtues which shine so conspicuously in every part of his behaviour that even his enemies must allow him to possess them in an eminent degree. To these may be added, with equal justice, such purity and even austerity of manners as became one who assumed the character of a Reformer; such sanctity of life as suited the doctrine which he delivered, and such perfect disinterestedness as affords no slight presumption of his sincerity. Superior to all selfish considerations, a stranger to the elegancies of life, and despising its pleasures, he left the honours and emoluments of the Church to his disciples, remaining satisfied himself with his original state of Professor in the University, and Pastor of the town of Wittemberg, with the moderate appointments to these offices."

Erasmus Middleton, in his "Lives of the Reformers," thus introduces Luther:—"We come now to treat of a most wonderful man, whom God raised up in these last ages of the world to break the chains of superstition and spiritual slavery which the bishops of Rome and their dependents had, for many centuries, cast over the consciences of men. He was an instrument truly prepared for this work." "In private life Luther was an example of strictest virtue."¹

Even Hallam, in the midst of his crude and undigested strictures on Luther's writings (with which, by the way, he professed to have but a superficial acquaintance), is constrained also to admit that "his soul was penetrated with a fervent piety, and his integrity, as well as purity of life, are unquestioned."²

Melancthon, who was a constant and intimate companion of Luther, observes of him:—"Whoever was

¹ "Biographia Evangelica," vol. i., pp. 158, 233. London, 1779.

² "Introduction to the Literature of Europe," vol. i., p. 417. London, 1837.

familiarly acquainted with Luther, and knew his habits, must admit that he was an excellent man, agreeable and soft in his social moments, and in no respect dogmatic, or a lover of disputes. To these characteristics, add the gravity becoming one in his struggles with his opponents, that did not arise from the malignity of his nature, but entirely sprung from his ardour and passion for the truth.”¹ Again, “Although Luther was neither small in stature, nor of a weakly constitution, he observed the utmost temperance in respect to eating and drinking. I have witnessed him, at a period when his health was excellent, pass four entire days without taking any nourishment; and frequently have I known him to take nothing during the day save a herring and a morsel of bread.” Again, “I have on several occasions surprised him by himself in the act of prayer, hot tears streaming down his cheeks, whilst earnestly entreating God for the welfare of the Church. He dedicated several hours in each day to the recitation of psalms, and to invocations to the Almighty, uttered in all the fervour of his soul.”²

And yet a Minister of the Gospel, which Gospel teaches him that *charity* is the brightest jewel in a Christian's crown, has not one single word of encouragement, apology, or excusation in favour of this great good man, Martin Luther. Was it ignorance which led the Rev. S. Baring-Gould to withhold these certificates of Luther's worth, purity of mind, morals, and virtue? The secret of all the invectives against Luther by Papists lies in the fact, as declared by the same Erasmus, “that he touched the monks' bellies and Pope's crown,”³ but why these calumnies should be taken up and repeated with eagerness and avidity by gentlemen of the Ritualistic School is accounted for in a different way. Luther re-established the

¹ Quoted by Hazlitt, “Meehlet's Life of Luther,” Appendix, p. 440. Bogue's edit., 1846.

² Ibid., p. 440.

³ “Carion. in Chron. Auct. a Pene,” p. 937. Genev., 1625.

doctrine of justification by faith, for justification or sanctification by the Sacraments of the Church by the hands of the the priest.

The reader must pardon me here for a digression. The announcement of the celebration of the 400th anniversary of Luther's birth has called forth from the Romish press a repetition of the stale and oft-refuted calumnies and slanders against Luther, and perversions of his writings. The last issue is a pamphlet in striking contrast with the testimony above quoted from writers of admitted credit.

A member of the "Society of Jesus,"—otherwise "Jesuit,"—W. H. Anderdon, has just issued a pamphlet entitled, "What Sort of Man was Martin Luther? A Word or two on his Fourth Century." In this he purposes to exhibit "Luther's doings and writings, his vices, his coarseness, his blasphemies and fury against God's ordinances," and describes him as "a leader and deluder of millions; and, as he himself represents the demon's words to him, has caused and is causing the perdition of multitudes of men" (p. 4). "Hell hath enlarged her soul, and opened her mouth without any bounds." We are here told that "he was both a glutton and a drunkard," that "he gave utterance to thoughts so indecent, in language so coarse and revolting, that one seeks in vain to find an apology for him in the lax morals of that lax age" (p. 4). "His utterances are the shame of human nature, he was confessedly a man of the flesh" (p. 5), a "heresiarch" (p. 7). "He ranks with Belial, with Moloch, and Ashtaroth" (p. 13). "Belial is imaged in his 'Table Talk'; Moloch, in his incentives to murder, addressed alternately to prince and peasant; Ashtaroth in the undeniable facts of his life;" "he has foulness and mocking blasphemy on his lips," his doctrine "is simply licence and depravity, and its *beau-idéal* is impersonated in himself" (p. 17). "He could hardly weep like St. Paul (Phil. iii. 18) to tell the afflicting truth that many who profess the name of Christ dis-

honour it by their earthliness and sensuality. He [Luther] is himself in the front rank of that number, the leader and the very soul of countless others," "demoniacal," "he is the Satan, the adversary, who goes round about the earth," "a malignant eye." "Luther was possessed of three chief hatreds in life—chastity, the monastic orders, and the Pope" (p. 18). "He revels in his own baseness." "Here we have one who is not content, after his fall, to hide himself from the eye of his fellow-men, as other unhappy priests have had the decency to do. He does not withdraw at least his unit of transgression from the sum total of the world's flagrant scandals; he must needs flaunt it in the face of day. From the pulpit, the printing-press, and the tavern, he invites us to contemplate what he is. His worst enemy, the most unscrupulous calumniator, would shrink from inventing words to put into Luther's mouth, such as he utters for himself. Accordingly, as we have seen, he makes Diabolus, in his interlocutions, very much the better spoken of the two. 'The prince of darkness is a gentleman,' compared with the doctor of doctors and delegate" (p. 20). "A man whose vile utterances they could not endure to have repeated in their family circle, nor permit them to be spoken before wife or child—they accept him as a teacher come from God; they revere, as so many oracles, his foulest ravings against an appointment as Divine as the creation of the visible framework of the heavens. No, it is not the man, but the licence he proclaims; his reckless hand, that throws wide open the floodgates of human corruption. Here are his benefactions; he scatters them broadcast, as from a cornucopia. Hence it is that 'all the earth was in admiration after the beast, . . . and they adored the beast, saying, Who is like to the beast, and who shall be able to fight with him? And there was given to him a mouth speaking great things, and blasphemies, and he opened his mouth unto blasphemies against God, to blaspheme His name, and His tabernacle, and

them that dwell in heaven ” (p. 21). This is not all ; he is further styled,—

“ A ranter of perpetual contradictions ” (p. 22) ; a “ Balaam, son of Beor ” (p. 23) ; “ a false prophet ” (p. 24) ; one who “ taught an impious travesty of Christianity, that permits to the passions their empire, that preaches ‘ Peace, and there is no peace ’ ” (p. 25) ; his “ impious ravings ” and “ blasphemy,” “ the proud, rebellious Antichrist ” (p. 27) ; “ he drinks and raves at the tavern ” (p. 28) ; “ Luther is a maniac ” (p. 29) ; “ father and teacher of lawlessness ” (p. 32) ; “ no one can paint his portrait, except in merest outline, who has any reverence for the pious ears of his audience ” (p. 35).¹

Pas trop de zèle ! Pas trop de zèle ! was a wise caution. With all this invective, it will be scarcely credited that there is not one single extract taken from any one of Luther’s own writings to prove this indictment, but every single citation is taken second hand from exclusively Romish writers. Luther is not responsible for the “ Table Talk,” which was written twenty years after his death ; and even these citations, forming the greater part of his charges, are evidently taken second hand, with the vague reference to a page, without citing the edition.²

As Luther lived so he died. His last words are recorded. I earnestly entreat the Rev. S. Baring-Gould

¹ Dr. McCave, a Roman priest, in a Lecture on Luther, reported in the *Midland Counties Express*, is scarcely less abusive of Luther. He declares him to be a heretic, a heresiarch, apostate from Catholicity, a gipsy apostle, a sworn enemy to the creed he once loved and idolised, an infamous libeller against human nature, an impudent forger and imposter—infamous—one who had intercourse with the devil, an abettor of fornication, adultery, and bigamy, notoriously immoral, a libertine, a seducer of a nun, one who stooped to such horrible, astounding, brutal licentiousness, that one would imagine that it must have been a pagan pen that wrote—a blasphemer against God !

² It is, in fact, in these reproduced quotations from Romish writers that Luther is principally condemned.

to study them. May they sink deep into his heart, and may he from them learn to believe that no profligate, or libertine, or blasphemer against God and the pure religion taught by Christ, could at such a moment render up his spirit to the great God who gave it with so firm a reliance that he was accepted :—

“O my Father, God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of all consolation, I thank Thee for having revealed to me Thy well-beloved Son, in whom I believe; whom I have preached and acknowledged, loved and celebrated, and whom the Pope and the impious persecute. I commend to Thee my soul. O Jesus Christ, my Lord, I am quitting this earthly body, I am leaving this life, but I know that I shall abide eternally with Thee.”

What I complain of is that the rev. gentleman has ransacked every papistical work extant which would aid him to heap abuse on Luther and Lutheranism, and thus to misrepresent the great Reformer's teaching on “Justification by Faith,” while he has not even had the charity or grace to record one single passage (a few only of which I have quoted) to Luther's credit; nor has he given himself the slightest trouble to consult, quote, or attempt to refute the numerous valuable and convincing works which have been from time to time written in vindication of Luther, and in reply to these gross calumnies, exposing the wicked misquotations of Luther's writings, and misrepresentations of his teaching. Had he done so, the reader would have been enabled to arrive at a just appreciation of Luther's teaching on the great Christian doctrine of JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH in our Lord Jesus Christ.

With the above acknowledgments in testimony of Luther's moral excellence, I can scarcely contain my indignation, and keep my language within the bounds of propriety and good breeding, when I find this professed Minister of the Gospel, this *Christian* Minister,

defaming—slandering—the character of Luther by deliberately asserting that “the advice Luther gave to others he had proved to be *availing in his own case* ;” that is to say, he personally indulged in drinking, playing, and jesting, and doing some sin even as an act of defiance and contempt of the Devil; and that he would drink copiously all the more in the name of Christ, the more the Devil urged him not to do it,—in fact, that he acted just the contrary to what his conscience prompted him; so that he would drive away these Satanic thoughts by introducing other thoughts, such as that of a pretty girl, avarice, drunkenness, or by giving way to violent passion.¹ These charges are advanced in a most artful and covert manner. He dare not charge Luther in a direct manner with drunkenness and debauchery, for we all know that they are only found in papistical writings, wholly unsupported by any evidence whatever. He quotes a passage alleged to be Luther’s advice to others to put in practice a system he had “found availing in his own case,” and leaves his readers to conclude that Luther *personally* practised these vices.

It would appear that the cardinal Christian virtues—*truth* and *charity*—were erased from the rev. gentleman’s code of moral theology, and that slander and bitterness of heart, envy and malice, had taken their place. But, supposing all to be true that is brought in judgment against Luther, what is gained by this resurrectionist process,—this ransacking of literary dust-holes? Are such damnable doctrines, imputed to Luther, now taught by his followers? Is there one single evidence of any such sect existing? Even Mr. Baring-Gould is compelled to admit that there is not; then, why does he revive a controversy,—attributing to Luther doctrines he never taught, and vices he never practised,—which tends to no good, but, on the contrary, perpetuates warfare and leads to bitter

¹ “Lecture,” pp. 14, 15.

recriminations? Such conduct might be expected in a Papist, but is certainly out of place when indulged in by a Minister of the Reformed Church, such as the Rev. S. Baring-Gould professes himself at least to be. But, when we find the rev. gentleman bear *false witness* against one who has passed to his rest, and is unable to vindicate himself, how shall we find words sufficiently strong to stigmatise his slanderous conduct?

Are we to look for, or attribute, motives to account for this line of conduct in the Rev. S. Baring-Gould? Here we have the founder and prime mover of the Reformation—one who had just emerged from darkness, and was freeing himself from the soul-destroying delusions of Popery—one, humanly speaking, to whom Mr. Baring-Gould himself is indebted for the light and liberty of the Gospel he now enjoys—represented as the author of a system more diabolical than any phase of heathenism. The glorious work begun by Luther and the subsequent German Reformers was taken up and completed by the Reformers of our own Church in England, in which the rev. gentleman is a professed ordained Minister. And yet we find this same individual endeavouring to kick away the ladder which raised us from the base of ignorance and error to the pinnacle of religious light and truth. Motives! Dare we indulge in the expression of the thought that must be uppermost in our minds? As, however, we may possibly be wrong in our estimation of the motives of others, we must content ourselves, in this instance, by sounding the notes of warning, and, in the words of Horace, exclaim,—

— Absentem qui rodit amicum,
 Qui non defendit, alio culpante ;
 —Hic niger est ; hunc tu, Romane, caveto !

The reverend lecturer starts with a gross and unpardonable misrepresentation as the basis of the whole of his subsequent argument and superstructure. He professes to state what was “the received doctrine

of the Church, at the time of Luther's *revolt*, on the subject of original sin, justification and good works,"¹ which he calls "Catholic teaching," and he then gives, in contrast, what he alleges to be Luther's theory, a "theological system," of which Luther is alleged to be the "founder."

According to the Rev. S. Baring-Gould the "Catholic teaching" which Luther sought to uproot is thus defined:—²

"Original sin, according to the Catholic teaching, is the condition of disorder into which our powers have fallen, so that the animal or lower nature dominates over the intellectual and spiritual, or the higher nature.

"Justification, then, is the process of restoration to that state of perfection and favour with God from which man fell. And, inasmuch as man co-operates in this work, it must be a slow and gradual process, a steady growth and advance.

"Conscience, according to Catholic teaching, is the voice of man's spiritual nature instructed by the Divine Spirit prompting him to good and cautioning him against evil, rebuking him when he has erred, and cheering him when he has gone right.

"Sin also is a lapse, a veritable fall from the higher path to the lower, a conquest gained by the baser nature over the nobler nature. And good works are simply victory gained over sin and over the animal passions; modesty, charity, simplicity, temperance, meekness, and all those virtues which St. Paul calls fruits of the Spirit, are in technical theological language called good works, and in ordinary parlance morality."

He then declares "Luther's scheme of salvation" to be "in every point different from that described." Luther's "*corpus doctrinæ*" is represented as set

¹ "Lecture," p. 4.

² p. 5.

forth in the words I have already copiously quoted, and as being the "substance" of his doctrine on "justification" and "good works," and that he insisted on "the nothingness of the sacramental system." What Luther did teach under these two heads, "Faith" and "Works," I shall presently make clear; but I ask any unprejudiced reader of Church History whether the above is a fair exposition of the teaching of the Church when Luther raised his thundering voice of warning and condemnation? The whole Gospel scheme of salvation through Christ, and of the Atonement, was then practically ignored, and men's merits placed in the foremost rank as a means of salvation. We must bear in mind that the Trent scheme was a compromise and modification of what previously was openly and authoritatively taught, and against which Luther protested. The amendment, or modification, such as it was, was in consequence of Luther's crusade. Nor is the rev. gentleman's definition of Justification according to the teaching of the Church of England, of which he is a Minister. Justification with us is not a "*process* of restoration to that state of perfection and favour with God, from which man fell"; that may be *sanctification*, but not *justification*. We can never attain that perfect state by any *process* of our own, for all have come short of the required standard of holiness. *Justification* is a free gift of God, through the merits and mediation of Christ alone. At least such is the teaching of our Church, whether the rev. gentleman accepts it or not. What he lays down as a *process* is more in accordance with the Trent scheme of salvation, but is in no sense the "Catholic teaching," unless he places another sense on the word *Catholic*—i.e., *Roman*. If he does not mean this, we have a complication of misrepresentation.

The teaching of the Church to which the rev. gentleman ostensibly belongs is that recorded by the "Judicious" Hooker. It is in remarkable agreement

with what Luther taught nearly half a century before :—

“The Righteousness wherein we must be found, if we will be justified, is not our own; therefore we cannot be justified by any inherent quality. Christ hath merited righteousness for as many as are found in him. In him God findeth us, if we be faithful; for by faith we are incorporated into Christ. Then, although in ourselves we be altogether sinful and unrighteous, yet even the Man which is impious in himself, full of iniquity, full of sin; him being found in Christ through Faith, and having his sin in hatred through Repentance; him God beholdeth with a gracious eye, putteth away his sin by not imputing it, taketh quite away the punishment due thereunto by pardoning it, and accepteth him in Jesus Christ, as perfectly righteous, as if he had fulfilled all that was commanded him in the Law—shall I say more perfectly righteous than if himself had fulfilled the whole Law? I must take heed what I say: but the Apostle saith, ‘God made him to be sin for us who knew no sin; that we might be made the righteousness of God in him’ (2 Cor. v. 21). Such we are in the sight of God the Father, as is the very Son of God himself. Let it be counted folly or frenzy, or fury, whatsoever; it is our comfort, and our wisdom; we care for no knowledge in the world but this, that Man hath sinned, and God hath suffered; that God hath made himself the Sin of Men, and that Men are made the Righteousness of God. You see, therefore, that the Church of Rome, in teaching Justification by inherent Grace, doth pervert the truth of Christ; and that by the hands of the Apostles we have received otherwise than she teacheth.

“Now, concerning the righteousness of Sanctification, we deny it not to be inherent; we grant,

that, unless we work, we have it not; only we distinguish it as a thing different in nature from the righteousness of Justification; we are righteous the one way, by the Faith of Abraham; the other way, except we do the works of Abraham, we are not righteous. Of the one, St. Paul, 'To him that worketh not, but believeth, Faith is counted for righteousness' (Rom. iv. 5); of the other, St. John, *Qui facit justitiam, justus est*; He is righteous which worketh righteousness. Of the one, St. Paul doth prove, by Abraham's example, that we have it of Faith without Works; of the other, St. James, by Abraham's example, that by Works we have it, and not only by Faith. St. Paul doth plainly sever these two parts of Christian Righteousness one from the other. For in the sixth to the Romans thus he writeth: 'Being freed from sin, and made Servants to God, ye have your fruit in holiness, and the end everlasting life. Ye are made free from sin, and made Servants unto God;' this is the righteousness of Justification; 'Ye have your fruit in holiness;' this is the righteousness of sanctification. By the one we are interested in the right of inheriting; by the other we are brought to the actual possession of eternal bliss, and so the end of both is everlasting life."¹

And, a little further on, Hooker continues:—

"It is a childish cavil wherewith, in the matter of Justification, our adversaries do so greatly please themselves, exclaiming, that we tread all Christian virtues under our feet, and require nothing in Christians but Faith, because we teach that Faith alone justifieth; whereas by this speech we never meant to exclude either Hope or Charity from being always joined as inseparable

¹ "A Discourse of Justification," &c. Works, vol. ii., p. 606. Oxford, 1850.

mates with Faith in the Man that is justified ; or Works from being added as necessary duties, required at the hands of every justified Man ; but to show that Faith is the only hand which putteth on Christ unto Justification ; and Christ the only garment which, being so put on, covereth the shame of our defiled natures, hideth the imperfection of our works, preserveth us blameless in the sight of God, before whom, otherwise, the very weakness of our faith were cause sufficient to make us culpable, yea, to shut us from the Kingdom of Heaven, where nothing that is not absolute can enter."

What Luther assailed and denounced was the theory that good works were a *meritorious cause* of justification, and the public sale of Indulgences by the "merit-mongers," as he called them, consequent on that teaching. That Luther inveighed against the sale of Indulgences, and the scandalous abuses arising therefrom, is a notorious fact. The authorised agents of the Pope publicly sold them, and large harvests were reaped thereby. When the money, they said, chinked at the bottom of the money-box, that moment a soul was released from the flames of purgatory (i. Thesis, 36). To quote one well-authenticated instance from a thesis put forward by Tetzel, the Pope's pedlar-general,—and I refer to this as I shall have to make a practical application of it,—in defending Indulgences against Luther's attacks, Tetzel said that "there was no sin so great that an indulgence would not absolve, and even if any one had violated the Blessed Mother of God, always a virgin (which is impossible), it is as clear as daylight that, if he only procures an indulgence, all would be forgiven him."¹ Now what is the theory of an

¹ "Subcommissariis insuper ac prædicatoribus veniarum imponere, ut si quis, per impossibile, Dei genetricem semper virginem violasset, quod eundem indulgentiarum vigore absolvere possent, luce clarius est."—Positiones fratris, J. Tezeli, quibus defendit indulgentias

Indulgence? They tell us that there exists in the Church an inexhaustible treasure, consisting not only of the merits of Christ, but of the superabundant merits of the Virgin, and of departed mortals supposed to be saints in another world,—merits more than sufficient for obtaining (as to mortals) their own salvation,—which are added to the merits of Christ. These superabundant merits are doled out by the Pope, and by duly-authorised priests, in parcels, by which periods of punishment from forty days to thousands of years are alleged to be remitted; and when the Pope grants Indulgences for ten to twenty thousand years, such Indulgences, they tell us, have reference to those who had accustomed themselves to perjury and blasphemy almost every moment, and to those who frequently committed murders, thefts, sacrileges, and adulteries.¹ In fact, the greater the sin, the greater the indulgence awarded to the sinner. Even at the present day people are offered Indulgences of ten thousand years, applicable to souls in purgatory, for saying “five *paters* and *aves* in honour of the Passion of Jesus Christ, and of the dolours of the Virgin Mary.”² All this reads as if it were a malicious invention. Never-

contra Lutherum, Theses 99, 100, et 101. The Indulgences were sold by Tetzel under the immediate authority of Leo X. See “Forma absolutionis plenariæ” apud Gerdesium, “Monumenta Antiquitatis,” tom. i., No. vii., B. p. 74.

¹ “Sed quidquid de hoc sit, non videtur negandum, posse aliquos reos fieri poenitentiae agendae secundum canones per spatium aliquot millium annorum. Nam si peccatis lethalibus singulis debetur secundum canones poenitentia trium vel septem annorum; quis enumeret annos poenitentiae, qui secundum canones praescribi deberent iis qui consuetudinem pejerandi, vel blasphemandi ad singula prope momenta, et frequentissime homicidia, furta, sacrilegia, adulteria perpetrant, ac denique, ut legimus, in Job, c. 15, Bibunt quasi aquam iniquitatem? Atque huc sine dubio respexerunt summi Pontifices, si qui sunt, qui revera indulgentias dederint decem, vel viginti millium annorum.”—Bellarm. Oper. tom. iii. De Indulg., Lib. i., c. ix., col. 1174. C. Paris, 1608.

² “Liguori on the Commandments,” pp. 292–3. London and Dublin, 1862.

theless, this is essentially the doctrine of Justification by Works inveighed against by Luther, but wholly omitted to be noticed by the rev. lecturer. True, they pretend that none can receive the benefit of an Indulgence unless they are in a "state of grace"; but that is *theory*. It was not so preached in the days of Luther. But the theory itself is a gross delusion, for, even at the present day, they teach that a penitent coming to the tribunal of Penance by Sacramental Confession, *from a fear of punishment* due to his sins, without perfect repentance,¹—in fact, not from the love of God or hatred of sin,—may, with this impure motive, by confession to and absolution of the priest, obtain a remission of his *mortal sins*, however often repeated or however great, and with it the remission of the *eternal punishment* due to those sins, leaving *temporal punishments* only to be endured in this life or in purgatory. This is called "being in a state of grace," when they pretend Indulgences will operate to remit those remaining undischarged temporal punishments designated "a debt due to God,"² either in this life or in purgatory.

¹ "Contritio perfecta non requiritur ut homo in sacramento poenitentiae peccatorum mortalium remissionem obtineat.—"Delahogue, Theol. Tract. de Sac. Pœnit., ex. typ. N. Coyne, Dublin, 1825.

² Ibid., pp. 255, 256, and "Catechism of the Council of Trent," Donovan's Translation, p. 269. Dublin, 1829. Council of Trent, Session XIV., c. iv., de contritione. "Il y a deux sortes de contritions : l'une parfaite, et l'autre imparfaite, que l'on appelle attrition. La contrition parfaite est un douleur d'avoir offensé Dieu, parce qu'il est souverainement bon. L'effet de la contrition parfaite est de justifier le pécheur par elle-même sans l'absolution, avec le désir néanmoins et l'obligation de la recevoir. L'attrition est une douleur d'avoir offensé Dieu, par la honte d'avoir commis le péché, ou par la crainte d'en recevoir le châtiment. L'attrition par l'absolution, dans laquelle consiste principalement la force du sacrement de pénitence."—"Catechisme, ou Abrégé de la Foi, dressé par l'ordre de Mgr. de Harley; approuvé par M. de Beaumont, et par S. E. Mgr. le Cardinal de Belloy, Archevêque de Paris, pour être seul enseigné dans son Diocèse. A Paris, Chez Jh. Moronval, Imprim. Libr. des Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes, 24mo., 1828," cap. ix., "Du Sacrement de Pénitence," p. 25, et seq.

The rev. gentleman knows well that such was, and in fact is even now, the teaching of what he delights to call the "Catholic Church," and was the system Luther so vehemently opposed; and that the "Catholic teaching" he proposes for consideration, as above set forth in his Lecture, is a diluted system, neither wholly Popish nor Reformed, but was not *the* system exposed or combated by Luther.

This corrupted system took gigantic proportions and wholly obscured the Gospel scheme of Redemption by grace through Christ. Added to this there was the system of a deliberate sale of masses by "mass-mongers," as Luther called them, by which they pretended they could free souls suffering in the torments and flames of purgatory. Luther denounced this, as also the miserable monkish system of lacerating the body, fastings, watchings, and prayings, and saying masses, by which they sought to merit salvation.¹ The Roman priesthood taught,—some earnestly and sincerely in the blindness of their hearts, others for gain,—that these works were meritorious as a justifying cause before God, and that salvation could be obtained thereby, confounding incongruous ideas, and substituting *sanctification* for *justification*.

Luther, on the other hand, having received the grace of God in his heart, saw the utter inability of man to observe the whole law and keep the body in subjection, and that, if we received our deserts, we must die under the law; that we are all as an unclean thing, and that all our righteousnesses are as filthy rags² in the sight of God, for, if God entered into judgment with us under the law, no living man could be justified in his sight,³ and but for the mercy shown

¹ See his "Commentaries on Galatians," i., 14-17, *et passim*. In all the extracts from these "Commentaries" I have adopted the old Black Letter translation, London, 1616; modernising the diction only. The references to the chapter and text are in all cases sufficient.

² Isaiah lxiv. 6.

³ Psalm cxliii. 2.

us through Christ, and for his sake, we could not be saved. Luther, therefore, preached "*justification by faith*." To trust in our own righteousness, then, was the great delusion which Luther exposed, and, in his rude and emphatic manner, preached justification by faith alone; but, nevertheless, that good works were an exemplification of, and naturally flowed from, a true justifying faith. Of himself and of his own experience, Luther said:—

"In like manner say I, of myself, that before I was lightened with the knowledge of the Gospel, I was as jealous for the papistical laws and traditions of the Fathers as ever any was, most earnestly maintaining and defending them as holy and necessary to salvation. Moreover, I endeavoured to observe and keep them myself, as much as was possible for me to do, punishing my poor body with fasting, watching, praying, and other exercises, more than all they who now so bitterly hate and persecute me, because now I take from them the glory of justifying by works and merits. For I was so diligent and superstitious in the observance of these, that I laid more upon my body than, without danger of health, it was able to bear. I honoured the Pope of mere conscience, and unfeignedly, not seeking after prebends, promotions, and livings; but whatsoever I did I did it with a single heart, of a good zeal, and for the glory of God. But those things which then were gainful to me, now, with Paul, I count to be loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Jesus Christ, my Lord."¹

At that time Luther attributed, as he expressed it, "the merit of grace and remission of sins to the work wrought." But when his mind began to expand and take in the Gospel scheme of salvation, bowed down and crushed under the "weight and terror of the law,"

¹ "Commentaries on Galatians," i, 14, fol. 37, B.

he emancipated himself from this thralldom, and saw the utter inability of attempting a justification before God by such worldly or earthly means. Justification by the law he trampled under foot, and soared into the upper and heavenly regions of Faith.

Faith wings the soul beyond the sky
Up to that better world on high,
For which we wait.

He bids us take a lesson from his own experience :—

“ When thy conscience is terrified with the law, and wrestles with the judgment of God, ask counsel neither of reason nor of the law, but rest only upon grace and the word of consolation, and so stand herein as if thou hadst never heard anything of the law, ascending up to the glass of faith, where neither the law nor reason do shine, but only the light of faith, which assures us that we are saved by Christ alone, without the law. Thus the Gospel leads us, beyond and above the light of the law and reason, into the deep secrets of faith, where the law and reason have nothing to do. Notwithstanding, we must hearken also unto the law, but in place and time. Moses, whilst he was on the mountain, where he talked with God face to face, had no law ; but when he was come down from the mountain he was a law-giver, and governed the people by the law. So the conscience must be free from the law, but the body must be obedient to the law.”¹

Again, a little further on, he thus expresses himself, after condemning these works of the flesh—vigils, fastings, lacerations of the body, etc., which, by the way, are so frequently and approvingly dwelt upon by the Rev. S. Baring-Gould, in his “ *Lives of the Saints*,” as means of justification, and which works of the flesh

¹ “ Commentaries on Galatians,” ii. 13, fol. 57, B.

Luther familiarly compares with the ass and his burden, thus :—

“ Wherefore if thy conscience be terrified with the sense and feeling of sin, think thus with thyself :—Thou art now remaining upon earth ; there let the ass labour and travel, there let him serve and carry the burden that is laid upon him, that is to say, let the body with his members be subject to the law. But when thou mountest up into heaven, then leave the ass with his burden upon the earth ; for the conscience hath nothing to do with the law, or works, or with earthly righteousness. So doth the ass remain in the valley, but the conscience ascendeth with Isaac into the mountain, knowing nothing at all of the law, or works thereof, but only looking to the remission of sins, and pure righteousness offered and freely given unto us in Christ.”¹

There is a striking passage in the Rev. S. Baring-Gould’s “ Lives of the Saints.” It stands as the first paragraph of the first chapter of the first volume, “ On the Feast of the Circumcision of our Lord.” He writes :—

“ This festival is celebrated by the Church in order to commemorate the obedience of our Lord in fulfilling all righteousness, *which is one branch of the meritorious cause of our redemption*, and by that means *abrogating the severe injunctions of the Mosaic law*, and placing us under the grace of the Gospel.”

Throughout the whole of Luther’s writings on Justification by Faith, he places before us exactly this view and the same idea. The severity of the Mosaic law was such that if we were judged by it none could be saved, but Christ came to relieve us from the terrors and severe injunctions of that law, and place us under grace. Our own righteousness could not be

¹ “ Commentary on the Galatians,” ii. 14, fol. 59 A.

a meritorious cause of redemption, for we could not fulfil the requirements of the law. Christ alone fulfilled all righteousness; "for the law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made us free from the law of sin and death. For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God, sending His own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh; that the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit."¹

If, then, the "severe injunctions of the law of Moses," which embraces the *moral*, as well as the *ceremonial*, law, are not now exacted from those who are under grace, then are we saved by *faith* and not by *works*. This is all that Luther insisted on; but, as he wrote for, and preached to, those who were wholly ignorant of this doctrine of Grace, he placed it before them in broad, emphatic, and familiar language; otherwise it could not have been comprehended by them. But the marvel is that such a passage as I have quoted should have been found on the very threshold of a work detailing the lives and acts of so-called saints, who are represented as seeking for righteousness through vigils and mortifications of the flesh, and written as the uppermost and first thought by a man who had only a short time previously undertaken to condemn Luther for preaching and teaching the very same doctrine.

From an impartial and careful perusal of Luther's writings, we can come to only one conclusion as to his teaching on the doctrine of Justification. It is strictly in accordance with the teaching of Paul, though conveyed in a more plain and emphatic manner, often rudely, and not unfrequently in bad taste, according to our present notions. They both treat of two schemes by which salvation is sought:—1. By the Works of the Law. 2. By Faith in Christ. The

¹ Rom. viii. 2-4.

former Paul designates as "the elements of the world," "the weak and beggarly elements."¹ The latter, "the gift of God,"² "the promise of the Spirit through faith,"³ "the gift by grace."⁴ One is, as Luther expresses it, "the righteousness of the law earthly, and hath to contend with earthly things; the other is of heaven."⁵ "Sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned." The Law of Moses—the Decalogue and the Ceremonial Law—was enacted on account of sin. "We know that what things soever the Law saith it saith to them who are under the Law—by the law is the knowledge of sin."⁶ "I had not known sin but by the law."⁷ "The law was added because of transgressions."⁸ "The law worketh wrath."⁹ "By the works of the law shall no flesh be justified;"¹⁰ "for, if righteousness come by the law, then Christ is dead in vain."¹¹ "Christ is become of none effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by the law; ye are fallen from grace."¹² When we were in the flesh, the motions of sins which were by the law, did work in our members to bring forth fruit unto death."¹³ "The wages of sin is death."¹⁴

Such is the condition of those who are under the law, and not under grace, and who seek their justification by works. Luther dwells largely on this aspect of Justification, and on the terrors of the law. He shows that the moral and ceremonial Mosaic law oppresses and drags down the Christian in his battle of life; for he sees in it, with Paul, nothing but a hard task-master, condemnation, and death. "As many as are of the works of the law are under the curse; for it is written, Cursed is every one *that continueth not in all things* which are written in the book of the law to do them."¹⁵ "It is written, There is none righteous,

¹ Gal. iv. 3-9.² Eph. ii. 8.³ Gal. iii. 14.⁴ Rom. v. 15.⁵ Rom. v. 12.⁶ Rom. iii. 19, 20.⁷ Rom. vii. 7.⁸ Gal. iii. 19.⁹ Rom. iv. 15.¹⁰ Gal. ii. 16.¹¹ Gal. ii. 21.¹² Gal. v. 4.¹³ Rom. vii. 5.¹⁴ Rom. vi. 23.¹⁵ Gal. iii. 10.

no, not one."¹ "There is none that doeth good—no, not one."² "All have sinned and come short of the glory of God."³ Luther, therefore, thoroughly imbued with this doctrine, shows man's utter inability, of himself, to be wholly just and pure before God by attempting a strict conformity to the law. It is in this view alone that Luther, in the forcible, rugged, and broad language peculiar to himself, speaks of the law as if with contempt, but only when viewed or advanced as a *means* or *cause* of justification apart from grace and the gift of the Spirit working in us. Luther desired to teach that each—works and faith—was to be practised, but kept in its own proper place. Nothing that Luther has said can go beyond Paul's teaching. If we seek our justification before God, therefore, in doing the works of the law, we must fail, for none is righteous, such "persons being ignorant of God's righteousness," go about "to establish their own righteousness."⁴ Whatever we do in works is our duty: we offer to God His own. "To him that worketh is the reward not reckoned of grace, but of debt;"⁵ "for if they which are of the law be heirs, *faith* is made void, and the promise made of none effect."⁶ Such was Paul's teaching, such was Luther's. Christ came to relieve us from the terrors of the law, or, as Mr. Baring-Gould himself expresses it, "to abrogate the severe injunctions of the law." He came to "deliver us from the law, that being dead, wherein we were held, that we should serve in newness of spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter."⁷ "We became dead to the law by the body of Christ."⁸ "There is no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit."⁹ We are here told that we are made "free from the law of sin and death";¹⁰ and this is the

¹ Rom. iii. 10.² Rom. iii. 12.³ Rom. iii. 23.⁴ Rom. x. 3.⁵ Rom. iv. 4.⁶ Rom. iv. 14.⁷ Rom. vii. 6.⁸ Rom. vii. 4.⁹ Rom. viii. 1.¹⁰ Rom. viii. 2.

solemn declaration of the Apostle Paul:—"If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart that God hath raised Him from the dead, thou shalt be saved."¹ By His atonement "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us";² "who gave Himself for our sins, that He might deliver us from this present evil world, according to the will of God."³ We are "justified freely by His grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus: whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in His blood, for the remission of sins."⁴ We are expressly told that "by the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified in the sight of God";⁵ "resting in the law,"⁶ therefore, is a vain hope. And we are as expressly told that we are justified freely by FAITH, without the deeds of the law; in fact, "the just shall live by faith;"⁷ that "sin is not imputed when there is no law."⁸ This JUSTIFICATION is the "free gift of God";⁹ "it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy";¹⁰ it is by grace and not by works: "otherwise grace is no more grace;"¹¹ and by grace we are saved through faith, and not of ourselves,—“it is the gift of God, not of works, lest a man should boast.”¹² Christ then "is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth."¹³ "Therefore, being justified by faith, we have peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ."¹⁴ And over such as are thus justified by faith, sin will have no more dominion: for they "are not under the law, but under grace."¹⁵

Being then freed from the law through Christ, Luther, like Paul, earnestly prayed that we should "stand fast in the liberty wherewith CHRIST has made

¹ Rom. x. 9.² Gal. iii. 13.³ Gal. i. 4.⁴ Rom. iii. 24, 25.⁵ Rom. iii. 20.⁶ Rom. ii. 17.⁷ Rom. i. 17.⁸ Rom. v. 13.⁹ Rom. v. 15.¹⁰ Rom. ix. 16.¹¹ Rom. xi. 6.¹² Eph. ii. 8, 9.¹³ Rom. x. 4.¹⁴ Rom. v. 1.¹⁵ Rom. vi. 14.

us free, and that we should not be entangled again with the yoke of bondage";¹ or, to use Luther's own expressive words in his Commentaries on this same text:—

"Let us learn, therefore, to magnify this our liberty purchased by Jesus Christ the Son of God, by whom all things were created both in heaven and earth. Which liberty he hath purchased with no other price than with His own blood, to deliver us, not from any bodily or temporal servitude, but from a spiritual and everlasting bondage under mighty and invincible tyrants, to wit, the law, sin and death, and the devil, and so to reconcile us unto God His Father. Now since these enemies are overcome and we are reconciled unto God by the death of His Son, it is certain, that we are righteous before God, and that whatsoever we do pleaseth Him. And although there be certain remnants of sin yet still in us, they are not laid to our charge, but pardoned for Christ's sake."²

Is it not marvellous that Luther, just emerging from the darkness and depths of Popish errors and superstitions, should have had such a clear perception of the Gospel scheme of redemption through Christ?

The interpretation which the rev. gentleman gives to Luther's system of Justification is that "man is justified by faith in Christ,—that is, by giving up all attempts to co-operate with grace, and by passive acceptance of Christ's atonement."³ But is he a true witness? *He is not*; for in the very same paragraph which the rev. gentleman brings in accusation against him,⁴ Luther says:—

"When the conscience therefore is in conflict then should it think upon nothing, know nothing at all but Christ only and alone. Then should it

¹ Gal. v. 1. ² "Commentaries on Galatians," v. 1, fol. 232, B.

³ "Lecture," p. 6.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 8 and 9, No. 10.

remove the law utterly out of sight, and embrace nothing but the promise concerning Christ. To *say* this, it is an easy matter; but, in the time of temptation, when the conscience wrestles in the presence of God, *to do it indeed*, of all things it is the hardest.”¹

Is this a “passive acceptance”? The rev. gentleman might otherwise have overlooked the passages; but he purports to quote from the very same paragraph where the above appears, and from the very same edition to which he refers us!

But, the grave charge against Luther is, that he taught the utter worthlessness of good works as such. In this broad naked way the charge is untrue; but when works are placed before the Christian as *the* ground of justification before God it is quite true. And though Luther advanced his proposition in a rough and boisterous manner, as he had to combat, as I have sufficiently shown, a gigantic evil, he is nowhere plainer than the declaration of St. John, that “the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from *all sin*,”² nor more emphatic than the words of the inspired prophet, that, though our sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow.³

The rev. gentleman throws it in Luther’s teeth that he declared “that God alone justifies us without the help of our works, and without our sins being able to hinder us.”⁴ Is this stronger than the words and promises of God, given to us in His Holy Word? Justification is the *cause*; good works are the *effect*. But the rev. gentleman wholly misrepresents Luther’s teaching on this point. In his Annotations on the Galatians, Luther wrote:—

“We must understand Paul according to the

¹ See “Commentaries on Galatians” iv. 3, fol. 181 B., and Irmisher; Erlangæ Edition, 1844, vol. ii., p. 144. The original text is given further on, which the reader will readily recognise, and it need not be repeated here.

² 1 John i. 7.

³ Isaiah i. 18.

⁴ “Lecture,” p. 13.

matter of which he is treating, or according to the argument which he has in hand ; which is, that men are not justified by the law, by works, by circumcision, or such like. He does not say that works of themselves are nothing, but the confidence and righteousness of works are nothing ; for that would make Christ unprofitable. Therefore whoso receives circumcision with this opinion, that it is necessary to justification, to him Christ avails nothing."

Precisely in this way does Luther desire his arguments against justification by works to be understood. He is merely vindicating—in his own peculiar way—the doctrine of Paul. Luther no doubt dwelt more largely on the subject than Paul did ; but it should be remembered that the Roman Church was more deeply infected with the heresy of insisting on the merit of good works *per se* than the Galatians. If the Galatians and the other churches had been as thoroughly tainted as the Roman Church with the meritoriousness of human observances, no doubt St. Paul would have dwelt as largely as Luther did on the doctrine of Justification by Faith. To straighten the warped stick, Luther is accused of putting on the pressure in the opposite direction. The pressure was then needed. If, however, his successors continued to press on in the same direction, when no longer necessary to pursue that course, the fault was theirs, not Luther's. Where the Rev. S. Baring-Gould errs, in condemning Luther's teaching on justification by faith alone, is in confounding *sanctification* with *justification*. Hence his unlimited admiration and approval, as shown in his "Lives of the Saints," of vain but austere and painful macerations of the body, and lengthened vigils and fastings, which these sincere, but deluded, miserable creatures underwent, as if God was pleased by such self-inflicted barbarities.

We judge of a man's doctrine from his public declaration of faith. The Reformers published the

"Confession of Augsburg" in 1530, under the title of "Formula Concordiæ," being the declared doctrine of the Reformed Church concerning *justification*, to which Luther subscribed. I quote from the Leipsic edition, 1756; it declares among other things:—"That faith and salvation are neither preserved nor retained by good works, because *these are only evidences* that the Holy Spirit is present, and dwells in us."¹ "That, after man is justified by faith, his faith, being then true and alive, is operative by charity, *for good works always follow justifying faith*, and are most certainly discovered with it; *that faith is never alone, but always accompanied by hope and charity.*"² "We allow that where good works do not follow faith, in such case it is a false and not a true faith."³ "That it is as impossible to separate good works from faith as heat and light from fire."⁴ "That good works are necessary on many accounts, but *not as a meritorious cause.*"⁵ And the same "Confession" endorses the memorable saying of Augustine, namely, that "works which do not proceed from a true faith are in fact sins in the sight of God; that is to say, they are defiled with sin because a corrupt tree cannot bring forth good fruit."⁶

The main charge, however, is that Luther taught what the rev. gentleman nicknames as "*Solafidianism*," and that he affirmed that good works form no part whatever of the code of the Christian religion.

In reply to his sweeping accusation against Luther on this subject, I take the following extracts from Luther's Commentaries on the Galatians, almost at haphazard, for similar passages are so numerous that one is at a loss to select from them.

On Gal. ii. 17. "Our adversaries cry out that good works ought to be done, that the law ought to be observed. We know that well enough.

¹ pp. 590, 705; Appendix, p. 174. ² p. 586. ³ p. 336.
⁴ p. 701. ⁵ pp. 11, 17, 64, 95, 133, 580, 589, 702, &c. ⁶ p. 700.

But, because these are divers and distinct matters, we will not suffer them to be mingled together" (fol. 72, A).

On Gal. ii. 18. "We conclude therefore with Paul, that we are justified by faith only in Christ, without the law. Now, after that a man is once justified, and possesses Christ by faith, and knows that He is his righteousness and life, doubtless he will not be idle, but as a good tree he will bring forth good fruits. For the believing man hath the Holy Ghost, and where the Holy Ghost dwells he will not suffer a man to be idle; but stirs him up to all exercises of piety and godliness and of true religion, to the love of God, to the patient suffering of afflictions, to prayer, to thanksgiving, to the exercise of charity towards all men" (fol. 76, B).

On Gal. v. 6. "Although it is true that only faith justifies, yet he speaks here of faith in another respect, that is to say, that after it has justified it is not idle, but occupied and exercised in working through love. Paul, therefore, in this place sets forth the whole life of a Christian man, namely, that inwardly it consists of faith towards God, and outwardly of charity and good works towards our neighbour. So that a man is a perfect Christian inwardly through faith before God, who hath no need of our works; and outwardly before man, where our faith profits nothing, but our charity or our works" (fol. 243, B).

On Gal. v. 12. "To the end, therefore, that it might appear the Christian doctrine does not destroy good works or fight against civil ordinances, the Apostle also exhorts us to exercise ourselves in good works, and in an honest outward conversation, and to keep charity and concord one with another. The world cannot, therefore, justly accuse the Christians that they destroy good works, that they are troublers of

the public peace, civil honesty, &c., for they teach good works and all other virtues better than all the philosophers and magistrates of the world, because they adjoin faith in their doings" (fol. 251, A).

And to the like effect, Luther is represented in the "Table Talk"¹ to say:—

"For this cause it is no small matter that we should rightly understand what the law is, whereto it serveth, and what is its proper work and office. We do not reject the law and the works thereof, but we confirm and erect the same, and do teach that we ought to do good works; and we also affirm that the law is very good and profitable, yet so far that we give him his right, and suffer him to remain within his bounds, that is, by his own proper work and office; namely, first, that thereby outward sins be withstood and hindered. Secondly, that inward and spiritual sins may be discovered, confessed, and acknowledged. Therefore the law is a law which lighteth, it openeth and maketh visible, not God's grace and mercy, nor doth it display unto us the righteousness whereby we obtain everlasting life and salvation. Oh, no! in no wise: but the law openeth and displayeth unto us our sins, our weakness, death, God's wrath and judgment.

"But the light of the Gospel is far another manner of light; the same enlighteneth the afflicted, broken, sorrowful, and contrite hearts; it reviveth, comforteth, and refresheth them. For it declareth that God is merciful to unworthy condemned sinners for the sake of Christ, and that a blessing thereby is presented unto them that believe; that is grace, remission of sins, righteousness, and everlasting life.

"When in this way we distinguish the Law

¹ Bell's 2nd Edition, 1840, vol. i. p. 285.

and the Gospel, then we attribute and give to each his right, work, and offices. Therefore, I pray and truly admonish all the lovers of godliness and pure religion (especially those who in time are to be teachers of others) that with highest diligence they would learn this article, which I much fear, after our time, will be darkened again, if not altogether extinguished."

I see that the rev. gentleman purports to quote frequently from the Wittenberg 1553 edition of Luther's works. Now, had he desired to tell the truth as to Luther's views on Justification by Faith, he would have transcribed a very practical and notable passage, which appears in the fifth volume, page 97, of that very edition, in his Preface to Paul's Epistle to the Romans; and this is only a sample passage of many others of similar import.

We sufficiently gather from this passage Luther's doctrine, which the rev. gentleman is pleased to designate as "solafidianism." After commenting on the "difference between *doing* the work of the law and *fulfilling* the law," and explaining what it is to fulfil the law, Luther proceeds to explain what it is that he means by the words—*fides sola justificat*—"faith alone justifies." Luther says:—

" Therefore, our whole justification is from God. Faith and the spirit (*spiritus*) are from God, and not from us.

"*Faith alone Justifies.*—Hence, also, faith alone justifies, and alone fulfils the law; for faith obtains, through the merit of Christ, the Holy Spirit. This Spirit renews the heart, rouses, excites, and inflames it, so that it willingly does those things which the law wishes. In short, from faith so efficaciously acting and living in the heart, *spontaneously flow true good works*. This he (Paul) intends to say in the third chapter; for when therein he had condemned altogether the works of the law, and perceived that he

might appear as intending, through the doctrine of faith, to destroy and abolish the law, by anticipation he meets their difficulty. We do not (he says) make void the law, but we establish it; that is, we teach how, by believing, or by faith, it is in truth fulfilled."

Luther specially notes the difference between "Christian righteousness and ceremonial righteousness," and "Besides these, there is another righteousness, which is called the righteousness of the law, or of the Ten Commandments, which Moses teaches. *This do we also teach AFTER the doctrine of faith.*"

He concludes his "Argument," or Preface to his Commentaries on Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, thus :—

"When I have this righteousness (that is, the righteousness of faith in Christ) in my heart, I descend from heaven as the rain making fruitful the earth; that is to say, I come forth into another kingdom, and I do good works how and wheresoever occasion is offered. If I be a minister of the word, I preach, I comfort the broken-hearted, I administer the sacraments. If I be householder, I govern my house and my family, I bring up my children in the knowledge and fear of God. If I be a magistrate, the charge that is given me from above I diligently execute. If I be a servant, I do my master's business faithfully. To conclude, wheresoever he be that is assuredly persuaded that Christ is his righteousness, he does not only cheerfully and gladly work well in his vocation, but also submits himself through love to the magistrates and to their laws; yea, though they be severe, sharp, and cruel; and (if necessity so require) to all manner of burdens, and to all dangers of this present life, because he knows that this is the will of God, and that this obedience pleases Him."

Well may Luther exclaim in the words of Paul :—

“DO WE THEN MAKE VOID THE LAW THROUGH FAITH? GOD FORBID: YEA, WE ESTABLISH THE LAW.”¹

When Luther refers to the *Law*, I have, I trust, made it sufficiently clear that he alludes to the Mosaic law, having repeatedly pointed out that it is impossible for man to conform to the letter of the Law, as we have all come short of that requirement, and that we must, therefore, look for justification through faith in Christ; but, nevertheless, that we must strive to obey the law in all things,—this being so clear in all Luther's writings, that it is impossible to mistake his meaning when he insists on the Pauline doctrine that we are justified by faith and not by conforming to the law. Notwithstanding this, Luther's teaching is always deliberately misinterpreted. For an example; the same Jesuit writer, W. H. Anderdon, above referred to, on page 17, purports to quote a passage from the “Table Talk,” with the vague reference, “page 305”: “The Law [*he (Luther) always means the law of good works done by grace and in faith, upheld by St. James, and the true Gospel of our Lord*] is a regular labyrinth which cannot fail to entrap men's consciences” (p. 10, note); as artful and cruel a perversion of Luther's teaching as could well be invented. If the “Table Talk” is to be quoted, hear what Luther says: “Therefore let us leave Moses to his laws, excepting only the *Moralia*, which God hath planted in nature, as the Ten Commandments, which concern God's true worshipping and service and a civil life.”²

It has been truly said that the best vindication of Luther is indeed that supplied by his own works, in asserting God's truth, and destroying the strongholds of falsehood; and still more by that which he was enabled, in God's strength, to write in the page of

¹ Rom. iii. 31.

² Bell's 2nd Edit., 1840, vol. 1., p. 282.

history, and in the hearts of his countrymen, and of so large a portion of Christ's Church.

It is no part of our duty to make Luther a God, a Pope, or a Saint; nor to admire or admit as our Gospel all that he said and wrote. A man who wields a sledge-hammer works on large masses; his manipulation is not refined. The mass operated on was stubborn and unyielding; and so we should view Luther and his writings according to the times and circumstances under which he was born and bred, and with which he struggled, in the midst of the corruptions of the Papacy. The "lees and dregs" hung about him for a time; but he went forth, like another David, as a chosen instrument of God almost single-handed to encounter a giant evil. He emancipated Christians from the clutch of a soul-destroying heresy and priestly tyranny. We should honour him, nay, love him, for his work's sake. It is just for that very work which Luther accomplished that he is assailed by the gentlemen of the school to which the Rev. S. Baring-Gould belongs—a school that has lately risen in our midst, whose mission it appears to be to counteract the work of the Reformation. It is by modern Romanisers, as Hare has justly observed, that the mightiest enemy of the Romish corruptions is naturally regarded with aversion, almost with hatred. Luther's intense love of truth revolts those who dally with truth, and play tricks with it, until they cease to discern the distinction between truth and falsehood. Luther's comparative indifference to outward forms and ceremonies gives mortal offence to those who make forms, rites and ordinances, and especially ecclesiastical pomp, the essence, and, indeed, the chief evidences of their religion. Such men, I say, are now in the foremost ranks of Luther's assailants. I can only compare them to the buzzing, busy gnat, that torments in the dark; contemptible, yet irritating, more noise than substance. I have, however, no time nor inclination to moralise and draw comparisons and conclusions; I

leave that to the reader, while I proceed on the task I have conceived it a duty to impose upon myself, as a lay member of our beloved and Scriptural Church.

Having distinctly, and I trust and believe faithfully, explained Luther's teaching on the doctrine of Justification by Faith—that is, faith apart from works, and therefore by faith alone—I proceed to note a bold statement advanced by the lecturer. "This doctrine of Justification," designated "Solafidianism,"¹ was, he says, "*invented*" by Luther.² Some—Audin among others—go so far as to declare that Luther purposely mistranslated the important and emphatic declaration of Paul, in Rom. iii. 28, by adding the word *alone*, so that the verse reads, "therefore we conclude that a man is justified by faith *alone*, without the deeds of law." This is, however, one other of the many false accusations against Luther. The text itself, in Luther's version, runs thus³:—

"So halten wir es nun, das der Mensch gerecht werde ohne des Gesetzes Werke, allein durch den Glauben."

Which, when literally translated, is:—

"So we hold it now, that man will be justified without the works of the law, *but* through faith.

Here *allein* is a *conjunction*, not an *adverb*; "*allein durch den Glauben*" is very different from "*durch den Glauben allein*." The latter would be "*through faith alone*." The position of the word gives a different signification, thus: "*Allein den Wein trink ich*," and "*den Wein allein trink ich*." Again, "*Er wolte gern, allein er kann es nicht*:" "*He would be glad to do it, but he cannot*." So here, "*allein durch den Glauben*," is "*but by faith*." I note this as being a popular accusation against Luther's translation of the Bible, arising probably from the error of one unacquainted with German idioms; and others are not loth to follow suit. The point was insisted on by

¹ "Lecture," p. 51.

² p. 27.

³ See Edit. Halle, 1752.

Cardinal Wiseman in an article in the *Dublin Review*, where he similarly blundered. It is only another scene in the "Comedy of Errors."

. Slander lives upon succession,
For ever housed where it once gets possession.

Comedy of Errors.

To return to the accusation that the doctrine of Justification by Faith alone was invented by Luther. Now whether the doctrine is, or is not, orthodox, the assertion that Luther was the *inventor* of it is somewhat startling, when made by a man of the Rev. S. Baring-Gould's position and literary pretensions; at least the priests of the Roman Church appear to have been better informed. The great and eloquent Chrysostom, Bishop of Constantinople, of the fifth century, said:—"This one thing I will affirm, that faith only (*per se*) by itself saveth,"¹ and Jerome, a Presbyter of Rome, held that "Faith alone justifies. Works do not justify."² The words "Justificatio ex fide sola" were, by the Expurgatory Index, directed to be expunged from the writings of the former; and the words, "Fides sola justificat. Opera non justificant," from the writings of the latter.³ The testimony of antiquity was thus sought to be gagged to make room for the new theory of justification by works.

I will quote only a few of many similar passages which are familiar to all theological students. They are set out with their references in Birkbeck's Protestant Evidence.⁴

Justin Martyr, A.D. 130.

"To see God, it is granted to men by faith

¹ De Fide et Lege Naturæ. Tom. i., in Ps. xiii. Paris, 1588.

² Hieron. Oper., tom. ix., cap. iv., ad Rom., Basil edit., 1537.

³ See Index Libr. Expurg. per Quirog. Salmuri, 1801, p. 106.

⁴ See vol. i. Reprint, London, 1849; and see Finch's "Sketch of the Romish Controversy," vol. ii., p. 267, *et seq.*, London, 1850. And see my Reply to Cobbett's "History of the Reformation," pp. 277, 281.

only, and what alone we see God by, by that alone we are justified."

Tertullian, A.D. 201.

"The faith by which the just live is the faith of the same God whose the law is, in which he that worketh is not justified."

Clement of Alexandria, A.D. 200.

"Faith alone is the Catholic salvation of mankind."

Origen, A.D. 230.

"The apostle saith that justification by faith alone is sufficient."

Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, A.D. 370, or if not Ambrose, some writer, according to Bellarmine, of the same standing with him.¹

"They are justified by faith alone by the gift of God."—"Only faith is appointed to salvation."

Basil the Great, Bishop of Cæsarea, A.D. 370.

"As it is written, 'Let him that boasteth, boast in the Lord.' In this is the perfect and complete boasting in God, that no one is extolled on account of his own righteousness, but we know that he, being destitute of real righteousness, is justified by faith only in Christ."

Hilary, Bishop of Poitiers, A.D. 360.

"Wages cannot be considered as a gift, because they are due to work; but God has given free grace to all men by the justification of faith."

Gregory Nazianzen, A.D. 370.

"Confess Jesus Christ, and believe that He has risen from the dead, and thou shalt be saved. For believing only is righteousness."

Chrysostom, Bishop of Constantinople, A.D. 406.

"Thou obtainest righteousness not by thine own labour, but by gift from above, bringing one thing only from within, namely faith."

¹ Auctor "Commentariorum in Epp. Pauli" æqualis sine dubio Ambrosii fuit,—Bell., lib. iv., de Justif., cap. 8

“And it is reasonable for us to say this at present; let us approach asking with boldness. Let us bring faith alone, and he gives all things.”—

“For these things are the sustaining means of salvation; not at all by works, not at all by uprightness, but by true faith.”

Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, A.D. 430.

“We can attain these spiritual good things, not by any laudable works of ours, but by faith alone.”

Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, A.D. 420.

“The faith of Christ alone purifieth the heart.”

“Faith being absent, what other justice of man remaineth.”

Fulgentius, a Bishop of Africa, A.D. 520.

“We are freely justified by faith only, and not by works.”

Primasius, a Bishop of Africa, A.D. 545.

“Not by works, but by faith alone through grace dost thou know that thou hast life.”

And so I might proceed from year to year, to the days even of Luther. We have, however, sufficient here to silence for ever the Rev. Lecturer on the alleged invention by Luther of the doctrine of “Solafidianism.” The teaching of the Fathers, of Luther, and of the Anglican Church were and are identical on this fundamental doctrine of Justification by Faith alone. The XI., XII., XIII., and XIV. Articles of our Church are in themselves a complete refutation of all the attacks on Luther on this head, for they are one in their teaching.

The object, however, of these attacks on Luther’s doctrine of Justification by Faith soon becomes apparent, for the rev. gentleman tells us that Luther ended in teaching “the nothingness of the sacramental system.”¹ “If the mode of imputation be faith, then the sacramental system is valueless.”² “If by per-

¹ “Lecture,” p. 6.

² p. 27.

sonal faith he applies to himself all Christ's merits, then sacraments are reduced to empty signs, and will be regarded by him with indifference."¹ "The Catholic will value the sacraments *as the means* whereby God conveys to him strength to conquer his lusts and grow in sanctity."¹ "Under the Catholic system morality is binding and sacraments are necessary, under the Lutheran system *neither are of any value whatever*."¹ All this was Mr. Ward's and Dr., now Cardinal, Newman's theory, reproduced in this Lecture. Here then, at the expense of *truth*, for I emphatically deny the premises, we have the secret revealed! The High Church, Ritualistic, Sacerdotal Sacramentalism of this school oozes out. Displace the doctrine of justification by *faith*, we have nothing to fall back upon by which grace can be conferred but the Sacraments under the administration of the PRIEST. The PRIEST is to be the instrument of our salvation; but, according to the old *Catholic* system, unwittingly retained in the Pope's Decretals, we read: "He that hath Christ *by faith*, though he have not *Baptism*, hath assuredly the foundation besides which none other can be laid, that is, Jesus Christ."² A rather hard morsel, I trow, for our Sacerdotal Sacramentalists to digest! The *modern* (so-called) "Catholic" theory, however, goes still harder against our would-be Sacramental Priests. Their authority to administer a sacrament, or power to communicate grace, is wholly ignored. Writing on "Anglican orders," the Romish paper, the *Weekly Register*,³ speaks out plainly: "Does not every educated Protestant know that we [Romanists] always have, and always shall, utterly ignore the Bishops and Clergy of the Establishment as ministers

¹ "Lecture," p. 27.

² "Qui Christum habet *per fidem*, etiam si baptismum non habet, habet utique fundamentum præter quod aliud poni non potest, quod est Christus Jesus."—Decret. Greg. IX. lib. iii., tit. xiii. Leipsic edit., 1839, part ii., col. 623.

³ August 10, 1867.

of religion, and that in our eyes they are but so many highly respectable, well-paid laymen, entitled to our respect for their position in society; also, as a general rule, for their personal character, and because they are recognised civil servants of the Crown? But, as Bishops or Priests, we place them upon exactly the same footing as Mr. Spurgeon, of the Baptists, or Dr. Cumming, of the Presbyterian Church; that is, we deny *in toto* their orders, their mission, and all that constitutes a clergy of a regular church."

How does Mr. Baring-Gould like that little bit of "Catholic" charity and "Catholic" teaching levelled at his expense? So much for the Sacerdotal Sacramentalism of the gentlemen of the Ritualistic school in the estimation of their "Catholic" brethren! Should the Rev. S. Baring-Gould, however, desire to make his "calling and election sure," we entreat him by all means to join that communion, apparently most congenial to his nature and proclivities; there he can revel in his system of Sacerdotal Sacramentalism, and establish himself as a saviour, a mediator, to convey to his flock that saving grace which he so much extols in the administration of the Sacraments, in preference to that obtained by a justifying faith; though I tell him that his sacramental system is all priestcraft of, happily, a bygone age.¹

It is untrue to say that Luther taught the nothing-

¹ Dean Close, in his "Paper read at the Annual Meeting of the Evangelical Union of the Diocese of Carlisle" (p. 19; Hatchards, London, 1866), quotes, in a passage from "The Church and the World," p. 107, edited by a kindred spirit, the Rev. Mr. Shipley, the following words of the Rev. S. Baring-Gould, complaining of our Bishops for "opposing" their views and acts:—"Should an oppressive measure be brought to weigh upon the Catholic party in the Church, it will be the occasion of a decisive movement—either secession on a large scale to the *Roman obedience*, or the establishment of a Free Church." Oh! that our Bishops had sufficient courage to take these gentlemen at their word, and at once vigorously stamp out this Ritualistic heresy that distracts our Church, and thus bring about a consummation so devoutly to be wished for!

ness of sacraments. Luther did not teach *Penance*, *Extreme Unction*, *Matrimony*, and *Orders* as sacraments, avowedly adopted as such by the Ritualistic school.¹ These are modern Romish innovations instituted to exalt the priesthood. It is, however, true that he inveighed against the Popish Mass, but in proportion he valued and extolled the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. In his Commentaries on the Galatians, cap. ii. 16, he writes:—

“The more we know of the profanation of the Papistical Mass, so much the more we abhor and detest the same, and embrace the true use of the Holy Communion, which the Pope has taken away, and has made merchandise thereof, that, being bought for money, it might profit others. For he saith that the massing priest, an apostate denying Christ, and blaspheming the Holy Ghost, standing at the altar, does a good work, not only for himself but also for others, both quick and dead, and for the whole Church, and that only by the work wrought, and by no other means” (fol. 67, B).

The Mass being declared to be the same sacrifice which was offered on the cross “once for all,” becomes, as alleged, propitiatory for the sins of the living and the dead; and herein consists, according to Luther, its profanation. And is not this the exact teaching of the Church of England in her 31st Article:—

“The sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said, that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits.”

Then as to the only other sacrament, *Baptism*. Is it true or false that Luther taught the nothingness of

¹ “In Faith, Order, and Sacraments we are really one with the Church of Rome.”—*Church News*, July 7, 1869.

this sacrament? Let us see. In the same Commentary, on Galatians iii. 27, he says:—

“Therefore the righteousness of the law or of our own works is not given unto us in baptism: but Christ himself is our garment. Now Christ is no law, no lawgiver, no work: but a divine, an inestimable gift, whom God hath given unto us, that He might be our Justifier, our Saviour, and our Redeemer. Wherefore, to be apparelled with Christ according to the Gospel, is not to be apparelled with the law or with works, but with an incomparable gift: that is to say, with remission of sins, righteousness, peace, consolation, joy of spirit, salvation, life, and Christ himself.

“This is diligently to be noted, because of the fond and fantastical spirits,¹ who go about to deface the majesty of Baptism, and speak wickedly of it. Paul, on the contrary, commends and sets it forth with honourable titles, calling it ‘the washing of the new birth, and renewing of the Holy Ghost’ (Tit. iii.). And here also he says, that all they which are baptised, have put on Christ, as if he said:—Ye are carried out of the law into a new birth, which is wrought in Baptism. Therefore ye are not now any longer under the law, but ye are clothed with a new garment, to wit, with the righteousness of Christ. Wherefore Baptism is a thing of great force and efficacy. Now when we are apparelled with Christ, as with the robe of our righteousness and salvation, then we must put on Christ also as the apparel of imitation and example. These things I have handled more largely in another place, therefore I here briefly pass them over” (fol. 175, B).

The Rev. S. Baring-Gould professes to quote repeatedly from these Commentaries. I ask any one,

¹ Alluding to the Anabaptists.

is it possible to conceive that he ever read a line of them? If he did, we may also fairly add, was it for the purpose of honestly testing the truth, or by garbled extracts and misrepresentations, to bring the great Reformer into contempt? Whatever his motives may have been in publishing his "Lectures," the Rev. S. Baring-Gould bears false witness against Luther, by misquoting his writings, and by grossly misrepresenting his teaching.

Having now considered and exposed the Rev. S. Baring-Gould's misrepresentation of the teaching of the Church on Justification, and his misrepresentation of Luther's own teaching on the same subject, I shall proceed to examine his statements contained in the first Lecture, purporting to be "expressed in Luther's own words." For the present purpose I must be content with a few leading and most startling passages as specimens, the entire number of foot references being no less than 143.

There are abundant indications that the Lecturer is quoting second hand, borrowing these quotations, alleged to be from Luther's own writings, from various authors who have assailed Luther; he transfers also their foot references just as he finds them, which naturally accounts for the various editions of Luther's works purported to be quoted, all jumbled together, according to the edition noted by the author from whom Mr. Baring-Gould evidently borrowed his passages. Otherwise we should naturally have had one standard edition selected, and all the references made at least to that edition, and with it any duplicate edition, if he desired to facilitate references to originals. The method he has adopted is perplexing, as it necessitates consulting the various *identical* editions cited in the notes, before it can be alleged that the cited passage is misquoted. The following examples will make this clear. In page 9 of the Lecture there are two passages, the first No. 10 and the last No. 15

(the figures throughout refer to footnotes where the passages are alleged to be found), and both are taken from Luther's Commentaries on the Galatians, iv. 3. In the original text the two passages immediately follow each other, and should therefore have one and the same reference, whereas the first, No. 10, has the foot reference to the "Irmischer" edition "ii. 144"; the second, No. 15, refers to the Frankfort edition of the same Commentaries, "1543, f. 310." Now, had the rev. gentleman been quoting with the original text before him, he would have given either one or both references to each passage, and not have taken one part of a sentence from the 1543 and the other part from the 1844 edition of the same Commentary. And so the very next quotation, p. 10, No. 16, immediately precedes the passage No. 17 in the same Commentaries (Galatians v. 2). For the first part, we are referred to "Tischreden, edition Walch, xxii. 657"; for the second, to "Irmischer, ii. 299," the former edition including the commentary purported to be cited in the latter; and in page 11 there are three successive quotations from the same Commentaries, Nos. 24, 25, and 26, taken from three different editions, Jena, Frankfort, and Irmischer. And so throughout where these Commentaries are cited, these four editions, namely, Jena, Frankfort, Irmischer, and Walch, appear indiscriminately, sometimes three editions appearing in one page to different quotations, even when taken from the same page—even paragraph—of the original.

Again, in page 22 he gives another quotation from the same Commentaries, No. 78, rather startling taken as an isolated extract, but equally misrepresented as the others I shall have to note. He introduces it with these words, "he (Luther) confesses that this argument troubled him sore"; whereas throughout the entire chapter no such sentiment is even hinted at, nor even is there the slightest trace of it. I find the same expression used by Ward, a kindred spirit, who attacked Luther in a similar manner; probably the

idea and the extract are borrowed from that quarter ; it is not in the original. Another evidence of second-hand quotations is the significant blunders sometimes made in embodying, as part of Luther's text, the comments of the persons borrowed from. There are many instances of this. To take as an example, page 20, No. 71, quoted from the "Table Talk." To the passage quoted with sufficient accuracy—though of no authority—is added, "I have no better auxiliary than rage and passion that refreshes my prayer, sharpens my spirit, and drives away all thoughts of discouragement and doubt." The reference is "Walch, xxii. 1237." These words are not in the text of Luther, though made a part of a continuous quotation; they are the comment of the writer whence the rev. gentleman borrowed his quotation on what had preceded. Another indication of second-hand quotations is that what purport to be quotations in inverted commas as *translations*, are for the most part in fact very free and paraphrastic renderings, which afford unlimited scope for the writer to give a liberal licence to his peculiar leanings to Romish views. The Rev. S. Baring-Gould has largely availed himself of this method of interpreting Luther's ideas, and, as his models are Papists, Papistical proclivities crop up on all sides, at every turn, though he professes to quote Luther's express words. Again there are mistranslations so palpably incorrect that no one would attribute them to the Rev. S. Baring-Gould, whose scholarship I would not hastily question. The only inference is, that he has too readily relied on others for his matter and extracts, without himself consulting the originals. "All such quotations," the rev. gentleman informs me in reply to my pointed question in that behalf, "as I have not myself verified in my Lectures on Luther, are taken from Dr. Döllinger's great work." This leaves us just where we were, except with precise information that he has borrowed from Romish sources for his matter. How are we to

reconcile this with the allegation in his Lecture that he will quote Luther's *own words*? In fact, in this first Lecture there are, as I said, 143 distinct foot references to verify the text. While pursuing my task of verifying these passages, I have found with scarcely an exception that the same quotations are in Döllinger's book "*Die Reformation*" and Möhler's "*Symbolic*" repeated by Ward, and gentlemen of that school; hence his citations. I do not believe that Mr. Baring-Gould has seen even the outside of most of the works he parades before us with such a pretence of learning. Let me strip him of his fine feathers, and take off the mask:—

. . . moveat cornicula risum
Furtivis nudata coloribus.—HORACE.

I propose to give two samples of the rev. gentleman's numerous mistranslations.

In page 9 he renders a passage I shall have presently to examine with its context as follows:—

"Wherefore, if prudent, you will drive away
that *blear-eyed* stammering Moses with his law."

The reference is to "*Comm. in Gal. Francof. 1543, f. 310*"; also "*Tischreden*,¹ Walch, xxii. 649, 652."

¹ By far the larger proportion of references in this Lecture is made to the "*Table Talk*"; in fact, the "*Tischreden*," "*Colloquia*," or "*Table Talk*," is continually quoted by Mr. Baring-Gould, particularly the "*Colloquia, Meditationes*," Rebenstock Edition (see p. 15); there were two Frankfort editions, 1571 and 1588, 8vo. In Part I. p. 303 of "*Fabricius's Centifolium Lutheranium*" mention is made of these editions. It is quite certain that this and other collections of "*Table Talk*," "*Facetiæ*," &c., were made without Luther's permission, and that nothing in them is of the slightest authority as affording proof of that Reformer's sentiments. Möller's opinion, as cited by Fabricius, p. 109, is as follows:—"Liber Colloquiorum Mensalium B. Luthero nunquam visus, lectus, nedum probatus est; sed, mortuo demum eo, sine debitâ circumspectione et judicio, à diversis, qui mentem B. viri non semper assecuti sunt, compilatus." Luther died in 1546; the first appearance of the "*Table Talk*" was in 1566. It is manifestly unjust to quote against a man alleged conversations that are stated to have taken place at meal times.

Blear-eyed is a particularly offensive expression in English, and is not warranted by any single edition of Luther's works.

The Latin, in every edition I have consulted, and in particular the edition the Lecturer so often quotes, as "*Irmischer*," stands thus (tom. ii. p. 145, cap. iv. 3):—

"Quare hic si prudens es, longissime ableges Mosen *balbum* et *blæsum* cum sua lege."

Balbus is "stammering," *blæsum* is "uncertain," "stuttering." The Latin word for "blear-eyed," is *lippus*. The German word for "*blæsus*" in all German editions (including the Walch edition) is "*blöde*," which, as a mental quality, is *timid*, *shy*, *uncertain*, *timorous*. *Triefaugig* is the German for *blear-eyed*.

The rev. gentleman has quoted an edition, Frankfort 1543, which is not, I believe, in any library in England. I asked the rev. gentleman for the text from this edition; he evaded my inquiry by referring me to the British Museum, and added that "*blöde*" was the word used in German editions. This he wrote when he had under his eye the text itself, which he evidently first saw in Döllinger's work, "*Die Reformation*," Regensburg edit., 1848 (vol. iii., p. 45, note 89), where the Latin is given with the word "*blæsum*," which is either blunderingly or maliciously translated in the lecture "*blear-eyed*."

In page 24 of the same lecture, we have the following passage as a quotation from the same "*Walch*" edition of Luther's works (which is in German), vol. xxii., page 1034: "I would only preach the Gospel to *timorous*, discouraged, and troubled con-

When we find such men as Mr. Baring-Gould misquote and misrepresent printed works, supposed to be actually under his eyes, what reliance can we have in the accuracy of alleged conversations extending over two octavo volumes of some five hundred pages. The "*Table Talk*," nevertheless, contains a great deal of good, godly, practical and holy doctrine and teaching.

sciences." On turning to the original text, I find *timorous* represents the word "blöde." *Timorous* is the exact word Mr. Baring-Gould should have used in the present instance also. But as the rev. gentleman probably never consulted the originals, he could not anticipate this evidence against himself. This ugly perversion of the text is, no doubt, effected to bring disgrace on Luther as a profane and abusive writer on sacred subjects, and is reproduced by the Rev. S. Baring-Gould with a pleasurable chuckle. Luther was well read in the Bible, perhaps no man more so. In the face of the declaration in Deut. (xxxiv. 7), that when Moses died he was 120 years old, and that his eyes were not dim, nor his natural force abated, he scarcely could have called Moses either physically short-sighted or blear-eyed. That Moses was timid and retiring is certain, for we read in Exodus iv., when the Lord appeared to him and turned the rod into a serpent, Moses fled from before it; and after further signs, Moses declared that he was not eloquent but slow of speech, and of a slow tongue, and Aaron was accordingly appointed as his spokesman unto the people. The words used by Luther of Moses,—*"Quia habes impedimenta et tardam linguam,"* had an obvious reference to the Vulgate of Exod. iv. 10. The introduction of another figurative word of a different kind would have spoiled the parallelism; the rendering, therefore, of the words "blæsum" or "blöde" as *blear-eyed*, is not only repugnant to good taste, but wholly inapplicable to the whole drift of the sentence, which I shall presently cite in full, and is obviously rendered *blear-eyed*, as I maintain, for no other purpose than to throw discredit on Luther, and to bring him into contempt,—the apparent drift and object of the entire lecture (see *post*, p. 81).

Another gross mistranslation I desire to note, appears in page 17, No. 52,—*"If in faith adultery be committed, it is not sin."* This passage immediately follows another passage wherein the Lecturer represents

Luther as saying that, if we rejoice in Christ, no sin can separate us from Him, though we should commit murder and fornication every day. This shows at once the literal meaning he desires his readers to attach to the passage he purports to quote; in fact, the *animus* of the Rev. Lecturer is apparent. It is a pet quotation with Papists, and we fall on the stereotyped reference, "Disput., i. 523." It is strange that we never meet with an indication which of Luther's several "Disputations" is referred to, or from which edition of his works the passage is taken. I note this as an indication that one copies from another; they all follow the leader like sheep. Then the two preceding quotations in the Lecture, taken from various writings of Luther's, stand exactly in the same order in the English translation of Möhler's "Symbolism," London, 1843, p. 184, and I reasonably conclude that the rev. gentleman borrows from that source. The original text is:—"Si in fide fieri posset adulterium, peccatum non est," and is so given by Möhler. *Fieri posset*, "if it were possible." "*If it were possible* that in faith adultery *could be committed*, it were no sin." I will not, just now, examine the drift of Luther's argument (as I shall have again to refer to this passage when placed by Mr. Baring-Gould in juxtaposition with others above referred to of the same character, though also misquoted), and while we cannot at the present day endorse the coarse but bold manner of enforcing this argument as a paradox, there was greater reason why the Rev. S. Baring-Gould should not deliberately drop from the sentence two most important words which clearly indicated that the crime *was not possible* while a person was in faith. The very startling manner of putting the proposition before us, one would have supposed, would exact from a critic extra caution to be correct; but it suited the rev. gentleman's purpose to add it to the other string of quotations in this garbled form, to make it appear that Luther taught, under the cloak of

Justification by Faith, the most extravagant and demoralising principles. I should have been glad could I have been able to persuade myself that these two cases of mistranslation were accidental or unintentional, but it cannot be so; for, in reply to my inquiry made for this express purpose, the rev. gentleman stated that "blæsum" in his German edition was rendered "blöde,"—and he is, or professes to be, a German scholar,—and he also at the same time sent me the correct Latin text of the other passage as above given, with the stereotyped reference, "Disput., i. 523." He was, therefore, in possession of the original texts in both these instances at least, and I have a right to conclude that he has purposely and deliberately falsified both. When challenged by me, he was compelled to "stand and deliver." He was at bay.

As a specimen of the free and paraphrastic rendering of Luther's text, I take the following from page 11 of the Lecture. Luther is commenting on Gal. iii. 13. "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, when he was made a curse for us. For it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth on a tree." He comments also on the texts of Isaiah as applied to Christ: "The Lord hath laid on Him the iniquity of us all"—"He was numbered with the transgressors; and he bare the sins of many" (liii. 6. 12); and on the text, "For God hath made Him to be sin for us, who knew no sin" (2 Cor. v. 21). He has stated the argument of Paul, that all who did not fulfil the law are necessarily under the curse; but as no one has fulfilled the law, therefore all men are under the curse, but that Paul tells us that Christ has redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us, and that it therefore follows that the law and works do not redeem us from the curse. And had not Christ set himself against sin, death, and the curse of the law, we must have all perished, as no human power could have overcome these "huge and hideous monsters."

Christ, he adds, is not the law, but a divine and human person who took upon him sin, the condemnation of the law and death, not for himself but *for us*. "True, Christ is a person most pure and unspotted." (*Verum quidem est, quod Christus est purissima persona.*) "But you must not stop there, for you have not yet Christ although you know Him to be God and Man: but then you have him indeed when you believe that this most pure and innocent person is freely given unto you of the Father, to be your High Priest and Saviour, yea rather your servant, that He, putting off his innocence and holiness, and taking your sinful person upon Him, might bear your sin, your death and your curse, and might be made a sacrifice and a curse for you, that by this means he might deliver you from the curse of the law." Luther then points out that Paul expressly declares that Christ was not only subject to the curse, but that he was "made a curse," and that, he was made to be sin for us; and that, while these expressions might be construed that "Christ was made a sacrifice for the curse; and sin, that is a sacrifice for sin," he prefers he tells us, "to keep to the proper significance of the words, because there is a greater force and vehemence therein." It is this literal interpretation of Paul's words to which objection is taken.

At this point the Rev. S. Baring-Gould abruptly takes up the argument, by declaring that:—

"Luther's system was the imputation of our guilt to Christ. The Catholics, following the Fathers, had taught that Jesus Christ, holy and impeccable, was the victim offered to expiate the sins of men, and that where Scripture says He bore our sins, it is to be understood thereby that He took upon Himself and bore the penalty of our iniquities. But Luther taught that Jesus became for our sake a sinner, by imputation of the guilt of our transgressions. He hesitated for some time before he formulated this doctrine precisely, but both he and Calvin adopted it finally."

We are not informed whence the rev. gentleman derives the information as to Luther's hesitation; none is exhibited in the treatise from which he is quoting. I find it, however, expressed by Dr. Döllinger. I am not here now to vindicate Luther's doctrine or teaching of "imputation"; that is beside my present purpose, which is to expose the method adopted by the Rev. S. Baring-Gould in conducting his attacks against Luther, by fixing on him express words, reproduced within quotation marks, as literal renderings of Luther's text. I place in parallel columns the Lecturer's translation, which he introduces immediately after the above extract, with the words "Luther says" (p. 11), and the literal translation of the original text from the edition to which we are referred in a footnote "Opp. Lat. Jen., iv. 89," and which follows my epitome of Luther's arguments as above:—

*The Rev. Baring-Gould's
Translation.*

"Luther says: 'Jesus Christ, in His Person, must have been a murderer; indeed, there cannot have been in all the world a worse assassin, murderer, adulterer, thief, profane person, and blasphemer than He. When He became the victim to expiate our sins, He was not any longer innocent and sinless, nor was He the Son of God, born of the Virgin Mary; but He was the greatest of sinners, not because He personally had committed the acts, but because He bore sins in His body.'—²⁴."

Literal Translation.

"Paul therefore handles this place with a true Apostolical spirit. For there is neither sophister, nor lawyer, nor Jew, nor fanatic, nor any other who speaks as he does. For who dare allege this place out of Moses, '*Accursed is every one that hangeth on a tree,*' and apply it to Christ? Like as Paul then applied this sentence to Christ, even so may we apply unto Christ, not only that whole 27th chapter of Deuteronomy, but may also gather all the curses of Moses' law together, and expound the same of Christ. *For as Christ is innocent in this general law touching His own person, so is He also in all the rest. And as He is guilty in this general law, in that He was made a curse for us, and hanged upon the cross as a wicked man, a blasphemer, a parricide, and a*

traitor, even so is He also guilty in all others. For all the curses of the law were heaped together and laid upon Him, and, therefore, He bore and suffered them in His own body for us. He was, therefore, not only accursed, but also made a curse for us" (fol. 141, B).

Luther does not say that Christ *must have been* a murderer, &c., and, by the way, *adulterer* and *assassin* are gratuitously added. The argument is Paul's, not Luther's at all.

What Luther does say, in the very place and edition indicated by the Rev. S. Baring-Gould "*Oper. Lat. Jena, iv., p. 89,*" is:—

"Vere ergo apostolico spiritu Paulus hunc locum tractat, quia nullus sophista, legista, Judaeus, fanaticus aut quisquam alius ita loquitur. Quis enim auderet allegare hunc locum ex Mose: 'Maledictus omnis, qui pendet in ligno, &c. ;' et eum interpretari de Christo? Qua ergo ratione Paulus hanc sententiam: 'Maledictus omnis, &c.' ad Christum accommodavit, eadem et nos non solum illud totum cap. Deut. 27, sed etiam omnes maledictiones legis Mosaicae colligere, et de Christo interpretari possumus. Nam sicut Christus ipse innocens est in hac generali lege pro sua persona, ita etiam, in omnibus aliis; et sicut ipse reus est in hac generali lege, cum maledictum pro nobis factus, ac suspensus est in cruce, ut homo sceleratus, blasphemus, parricida, proditor, &c.; ita et in omnibus aliis legibus reus est. Omnes enim maledictiones legis in eum congestae et positae sunt, ideoque eas portavit et sustinuit in corpore suo pro nobis. Non solum igitur fuit maledictus, sed factus est etiam maledictum pro nobis."¹

¹ See Irmischer, Erlangæ, 1844, tom. ii., pp. 31, 32,—the edition quoted by the Rev. S. Baring-Gould, and the very next quotation on the same page.

Now, whether Luther is right or wrong in his interpretation of Paul's theory of "imputation" is not, I repeat, at present the question; but the correctness of the rev. gentleman's translation, placing it in inverted commas, as Luther's words: "as Luther says" is the question. I leave it to my readers to decide whether the Rev. Lecturer, availing himself of a very free and paraphrastic rendering, has not most unfairly represented Luther's text.

The quotation is thus continued by the Lecturer:—

"And as He became for us sin altogether, malediction and death, He bore all the responsibility for our acts—'Every sin which you, I, and all of us have committed are the actual sins of Jesus Christ Himself, absolutely the same as if He had committed them in His own person.'²⁵ And he adds, we must not regard Christ as did the Fathers of the Church, as the Lamb bearing our reproach and suffering for us, but as actually identified with sin, not merely become a sinner, but as Himself sin impersonified."²⁶

The three passages marked 24, 25, and 26 are all of them taken from the very same part, continuously, of Luther's Commentaries on the Galatians, iii. 13, while each separate part refers to as many distinct editions of the same work; 24 to the Jena Latin edition; 25 to the Frankfort, 1543, edition, p. 238; 26 to the Irmischer, ii. 31-34. The fact is, the rev. gentleman took the three extracts from three different opponents of Luther, who quoted from different editions, and gave their separate interpretations of Luther's meaning, but not his words. He did not recognise that they were all commenting on the very same extract, nor did he take the trouble to verify the passages. Had he done so, he would have discovered this ridiculously absurd proceeding on his part, which stamps him indelibly as a second-hand plagiarist.

Having examined a passage from which the rev. gentleman has dropped two words from Luther's text,

and thereby made it appear that he preached adultery, I now will note a deliberate shifting of a couple of words, by which an equally atrocious sentiment is attempted to be fixed on the Great Reformer.

In page 15, n. 44, we are referred to vol. xi., col. 346, Walch edition of Luther's works, the correct column is 349. Here Luther not only exposed the heresy of advancing good works as a meritorious cause of justification; but, like Paul, he warns us against those who have "a form of godliness,"¹ and by an outward life and show,—in fact, what he called "coloured hypocrisy,"²—deceive others as well as themselves. This deceit, he tells us, is still more destructive to the soul.

Luther's words are:—

"There is no scandal greater, nor more dangerous, nor more venomous than *the outward good life* in good works and holy conversation. That is clear, the very gate and the broad highway which leads to destruction. Oh, what a horrid abomination of unbelief and ungodliness underlies this fine life, a wolf in sheep's clothing, a harlot underneath the bridal garland!"³

The reader will be somewhat surprised to find what the rev. gentleman has been enabled to make of this by a skilful shifting of the position of words which I have placed in italics, making the "*good life* manifested externally by good works," to be condemned by Luther, instead of the sham or pretence and hypocrisy veiled by a show of good works. The Rev. S. Baring-Gould says:—

"The doctor taught that a good life and piety

¹ 2 Tim. iii. 3-5.

² See post, p. 83.

³ "Es ist kein grösser gefährlicher, giftiger Aergerniss, denn das *äusserlicher gute Leben* in guten Werken und geistliche gute Wandel. Das ist das rechte helle Thor und die breite Landstrasse zur Verdammnis. O welch ein gräulicher Fräval des Unglaubens und ungöttlichen Wesens legt unter dem schönen Leben, welch ein Wolf unter Wolle, welch eine Hure unter dem Kranze."—Ed. Walch, tom. xii., col. 349.

were most dangerous, as they prevented man from a total surrender of himself to God to do with him as He saw fit. And he laid down that it is far more dangerous for a man to remain till death in a state of grace and good living than to be plunged in profligacy and stained in innumerable crimes. 'There is no scandal greater,' says he, 'nor more dangerous, nor more venomous, *than a good life manifested exteriorly by good works and a pious conduct.* It is the carriage-gate to damnation.'"

"Charity rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth."¹ The rev. gentleman, however, seems to take a special delight in attributing iniquity to Luther, and this at the expense of truth.

I have now to note a passage of a composite character, not only free and paraphrastic, but to which is *added* most material words. I have not now to deal with the intention or meaning of Luther; *that* I leave for another place. The startling proposition obviously points to some special circumstances not alluded to in the Lecture. The reference is "Ed. De Wette, iv. iii. 188." On turning to p. 188, Brief ed. De Wette, vierter Theil, Berlin, 1827, the passage stands thus:—

"Est nonnunquam largius bibendum, ludendum, nugandum, atque adeo peccatum aliquod faciendum in odium et contemptum Diaboli, ne quid loci relinquamus illi, ut conscientiam nobis faciat de rebus levissimis, alioqui vincimur, si nimis anxie curaverimus, ne quid peccemus. Proinde si quando dixerit Diabolus, noli bibere, tu sic fac illi respondeas, atqui ob eam causam maxime bibam, quod tu prohibes, atque adeo largius in nomine Jesu Christi bibam. Sic semper contraria facienda sunt eorum quæ Satan vetat."

I will now place in parallel columns what the rev.

¹ 1 Cor. xiii. 6.

critic gives us as his translation, and the literal translation :—

*The Rev. S. Baring-Gould's
Translation.*

“Drink, play, laugh and do some sin, even as an act of defiance and contempt of the devil. Therefore, if the devil says to you, ‘Don’t drink so,’ do you reply to him, ‘Ay, I will drink all the more because you urge me not to do so, and I will drink all the more copiously in the name of Christ.’ Thus do just the contrary to that which Satan (*i.e.*, conscience) prompts. *One can drive these Satanic thoughts away by introducing other thoughts, such as that of a pretty girl, avarice, drunkenness, or by giving way to violent passion; such is my advice.*”
(Pages 14–15, n. 41.)

The Literal Translation.

“We must sometimes drink more freely, be sportive and trifling, and even commit some sin in hatred and contempt of the devil, to leave him no room to make us over-scrupulous about the *merest trifles*; otherwise, we are beaten if we are too nervously sensitive about guarding against sin. Accordingly, whenever the devil says, ‘Drink not,’ mind and answer him thus: ‘Nay, for this reason will I drink, that you forbid it; and even the more freely will I drink in the name of Jesus Christ.’¹ Thus must we always do the contrary of what Satan forbids.”

The passage was not “spicy” enough for the Rev. S. Baring-Gould, but that he must add *lasciviousness*, *avarice*, and *violent passions*, to drinking, frolicking, and trifling, mentioned by Luther.

There is not one word in the original text, of “pretty girl, avarice, and violent passion.” The other reference is the “Rebenstock” edition of the “Colloquia, &c.,” “ii. 225,” and we equally in vain search for the additions there.² The passage isolated from

¹ This reminds me that round the walls of the refreshment saloon of the South Kensington Museum is the following verse from Ecclesiastes ii. 24:—“There is nothing better for a man, than that he should eat and drink, and that he should make his soul enjoy good in his labour. *This also I saw was from the hand of God.*” Are we to bring this in judgment against the inspired writer, and against a Protestant government that sanctioned the building, as a licence for gluttony and taverning?

² The Rebenstock edition is very scarce in England; a copy, however, which I have consulted, is in the “Mendham Collection” of the Law Institution, Chancery Lane.

the context is sufficiently startling, without the playful imagination of the reverend critic being allowed to bend it to his inclinations by divers unauthorised additions of a most offensive nature.

It is to the above passage to which reference was made that Luther gave the advice which he (Luther) said he had proved to be so availing *in his own person* : an accusation wholly unauthorised by the text, and to be the more reprobated, not simply that the slander is uttered by a Minister of the Gospel, but that that Minister is bearing false witness against the dead. However, it serves appropriately to fill up a paragraph in his Lecture, and will be read and believed by many; and the Rev. S. Baring-Gould appears to be too happy to let the slander take root, and his object, whatever that may be, is attained.

An instructive incident, however, attaches to this quotation. Not being able to recognise this passage as he gives it in the place indicated, "p. 188," I wrote to Mr. Baring-Gould for an explanation. His reply at once enabled me to detect the fact that he was quoting second hand from Dr. Döllinger's work, "Die Reformation." "In my pamphlet," he says, "is a misprint of iv. iii. 188, for iv. 111, 188." This affectation of accuracy is amusing. To the passage commencing, "Est nonnunquam largius bibendum," &c., he gives in this letter to me as reference, "De Wette, iv. 111," whereas the passage is found in page 188 of that volume. As it stands in Döllinger it might be easily mistaken for either reference, and, as ill luck would have it, he lighted on the wrong one. He then gives another Latin passage commencing, "Quisquis Satanicus," &c., and for this he refers me to "vol. iv., p. 188" of De Wette, whereas this passage is not to be found in either place, nor in De Wette at all. Having my suspicions that he quoted second hand from Döllinger, on turning to the third volume, p. 257, edit. Regensburg, 1848, "Die Reformation," I stumbled on the two passages in a footnote

set out continuously, but with the usual— —between the two, indicating that they were in fact, not continuous. Whereas the rev. gentleman has blunderingly moulded them into one paragraph, sadly bungling the references, taking no trouble whatever to verify them; hence his referring me in his letter to the wrong page, the “p. 111” of Döllinger, which does not apply to the text at all. It was Locke who warned us against the proceedings of such gentlemen:—“He that has ever so little examined the citations of writers cannot doubt how little credit the quotations deserve when the originals are wanting.” We live and learn, and apply these words of caution in a quarter where we ought at least to expect that we should not have required their protection. The alleged *female attraction*, however, we must presume, comes from the “Table Talk,” which, even if correctly quoted, is not deserving of notice, being of no authority, and for which Luther is in no way responsible. There is another indication here of a blind copy from Döllinger, for I see in Döllinger’s text, p. 188, he uses the expression “the advice which he (Luther) afterwards followed himself”; this idea Mr. Baring-Gould adopts by saying:—“advice which he (Luther) said he had proved to be availing in his own case;” and this is the man who writes to me to say “that he does not wish to do an injustice to Luther”! How will he justify himself before the public in blindly transcribing from the pages of a book of a Romanist, second hand, without attempting even to consult the originals from which he would lead us to believe he was quoting? As we proceed, it becomes more and more apparent, that this would-be learned theologian, who parades his foot references bristling as thick as “quills upon the fretful porcupine,” is an indiscreet plagiarist; he borrows his references from the most tainted source he could possibly go to, namely, the writings of a Papist.

“Oh, Imitatores! Servum pecus!”—HORACE.

As this letter from Luther to a private friend, Jerome Weller, and never intended for publication, is on every available occasion brought in judgment against the Reformer as evidence of his loose and libertine propensities, it is as well that we should have before us the whole truth. And, if Luther is to be censured for his free, but decidedly paradoxical, method of conveying his views of reliance on the promises made in the Gospel through the grace of Christ, rather than on an attempt to fulfil the entire requirements of the Mosaic law, the Decalogue, well, let him receive his fair share of censure. But this is no reason why he should be condemned on garbled extracts and exaggerated comments. With this view I will now add a literal translation of the entire letter, the reader having had laid before him in these pages Luther's views on the requirements of "the Law" and the impossibility of complying with it, to the letter, and that, if we rely on such an impossibility, we are lost, but that we are saved through grace in JESUS CHRIST :—

Grace and peace in Christ.

My dearest Jerome, you ought to make up your mind that this temptation of yours is from the Devil, and that it is because you believe in Christ that you are thus harassed ; for you see what free-and-easy lives he permits the most malignant enemies of the Gospel to lead, Eck,—for instance, Zwingle, and others. We, who are Christians, must needs have the Devil for our antagonist and enemy, as Peter says, "Your adversary, the Devil, goeth about," &c. Most excellent Jerome, you ought to rejoice at this temptation of the Devil, for it is a sure sign that the favour and mercy of God are yours. You will say the temptation is more grievous than you can bear, and you fear that it will so crush and overwhelm you as to plunge you into despair and blasphemy. I know full well this subtle device of the Devil : whosoever he cannot overpower by the first onset of temptation, he endeavours to outweary and enfeeble by persistence, that he may fall and confess himself vanquished. Wherefore, as often as this temptation betides you, beware of entering into a dispute with the Devil, or of indulging in those deadly meditations of yours. For this is nothing else than to give in to the Devil, and yield to him. But you will take heed

to condemn most resolutely those thoughts which are suggested by the Devil. Contempt in this kind of temptation and conflict is the best and easiest way to conquer the Devil; and strive to hold up the adversary to derision, and then seek for some one to have a chat with. Fly solitude by all means; for when you are alone he is especially beguiling and seductive. By mockery and contempt is this Devil overcome, not by resistance and disputation. You will, therefore, occasionally indulge in cheerful pleasantries and pastimes with my wife and the rest; and be careful to keep up your spirits, Jerome. This temptation is more necessary to you than meat and drink. I have a mind to tell you what happened to me when I was about your age. Soon after I had entered the monastery, I was always sad and mournful, nor could I throw off my sadness. I, therefore, consulted Dr. Staupitz, and confessed to him—a man whom I take pleasure in mentioning—and I unfolded to him what terrible and horrifying thoughts I had. “You know not, Martin,” he replied, “how useful and necessary is that temptation to you. For not without reason, you will see, does God thus prove you; for He will use your ministry for great events.” The result corresponded with his words. For it turned out—and this I am surely entitled to say of myself—that I became a great doctor, which, indeed, at the time when I was subject to these temptations, I never would have believed would happen. Thus, assuredly, will it come to pass in your case also. You will prove to be a great man. Only take care, in the meanwhile, to be of a stout heart and good courage; and be fully persuaded that sayings of this kind, especially when they drop from great and learned men, are not devoid of an oracular and prophetic meaning. I remember a man once saying to me, when I was offering him consolation on the loss of his son, “You see, Martin, that you will turn out a great man.” This observation I very often call to mind; for sayings of this kind, as I observed, have something prophetic and oracular. Be cheerful, therefore, and stout-hearted, and banish at once those utterly vain imaginations; and whenever the Devil harasses you with thoughts of the kind, at once have recourse to conversation, or drink more liberally, or be jocose and playful, or employ yourself on some lively occupation. Sometimes we must drink more freely, be sportive and trifling, and even commit some sin in hatred and contempt of the Devil, to leave him no room to make us over-scrupulous about the merest trifles; otherwise we are beaten if we are too nervously sensitive about guarding against sin. Accordingly, whenever the Devil says “Drink not,” mind and answer him thus: “Nay, for this reason will I drink, that you forbid it, and even the more freely will I drink in the name of Jesus Christ.” Thus must we always do the contrary of what Satan forbids.

What else do you suppose to be the cause that I thus enjoy a cheerful glass, chat unreservedly with my friends, and often play the boon companion, than that I may mock and harass the Devil, who was prepared to mock and harass me? Would that I could point out something special in the way of sin, to foil the Devil, that he might understand that no sin do I acknowledge, and to none do I plead guilty! We have altogether to banish the whole Decalogue from our eyes and thoughts—we, I say, whom the Devil thus assails and harasses. But, if he should ever cast our sins in our teeth, and accuse us as criminals worthy of death and hell, in that case ought we to speak thus: “I confess myself, indeed, a criminal worthy of death and hell.” Then, what afterwards? Shall you, therefore, be also condemned eternally. Far from it. For I know one who suffered and made satisfaction for me, and He is called JESUS CHRIST, the Son of God. Where He shall abide, I also shall abide.” 6, November, 1530. T. MARTIN LUTHER.¹

The reader has now the whole of this formidable document before him. I have pointed out above how the sentiment desired to be conveyed has been perverted by the Rev. S. Baring-Gould. Let us see what is made of it by the professed Jesuit, W. H. ANDERDON, in his pamphlet just issued, “What Sort of Man was Martin Luther?” In page 8 he purports to quote the exact words of Luther in inverted commas, with the reference as above, only lamentably misspelt [Lebrecht von Welte], thus:—

“Poor Jerome Weller, you have temptations; you must get the better of them; when the Devil comes to tempt you—drink, my friend, drink deeply; make yourself merry, play the fool, *and sin*, in hatred of the Evil One, and to play him a trick. If the Devil says to you: ‘You surely will not drink’; answer him thus: ‘I will drink bumpers, because you forbid me; I will imbibe copious potations, in honour of Jesus Christ.’ Follow my example. I should neither eat, drink, nor enjoy myself so much at table, were it not to vex Satan. *I wish I could discover some new sin*, that he might learn to his cost that I laugh at all

¹ T. Mart. Lutherus an Hieronymus Weller, von Dr. W. M. Leberecht de Wette, pp. 188–189. Berlin, 1827.

that is sin, and that I do not think my conscience charged with it. Away with the Decalogue, when the Devil comes to torment us ! when he whispers in our ear ' You will be damned in the next world.' ' That is false ; I know that there is One who has suffered and satisfied for me, and where He is, there I shall be also.' ”¹

The italics are as given by Mr. Anderdon. The whole of this is taken second hand from Audin. His quotation ends, it will be seen, with the concluding words of Luther's letter, " And where He is, there I shall be also." *Ubi is manebit, manebo et ego.* This is immediately followed by the date, November 6th, 1530, and with Luther's signature. Our Jesuit friend, however, is not contented with taking his matter second hand, but he must needs add, as a postscript of his own, the following words : " Ending," that is Luther's letter ending, " with a coarseness all his own, which no translator, transcriber, or reader would endure to see in print." Thus giving the reader to believe that bad as was all that had gone before, given as a translation of Luther's text, still worse follows,—indeed, too bad for pen to write or eyes to see,—whereas the letter concludes with his extract and nothing follows ! And this is the champion selected for his task—a professed Jesuit,—who probably has not read a line of Luther's works, who takes upon himself not only to reproduce second-hand slanders, but actually coins the above peroration to Luther's letter utterly out of his own imagination. This pamphlet is a fair sample of similar productions from the Romish press on the same subject.² No task is more difficult than to confute dead lies, to demolish direct and gratuitous falsehood, and yet there is

¹ This same passage, as one continuous entire letter, is given in *The Weekly Register* of September 1, 1883.

² I have in a previous page (*ante*, p. 17) given several examples of the infamous charges this Jesuit writer brings against Luther without any justifying proofs.

perhaps by an overruling and truth-loving Providence a fatality (as in the present instance) attending the violation of truth which frequently and unexpectedly produces its detection. The venerable champions of Protestantism, the Rev. Joseph Mendham and the Rev. George Stanley Faber, repeatedly warn their readers to accept with the greatest reserve and caution any statement, theological or otherwise, of a startling nature from the pen of a Romanist, and to reject it until verified by a careful examination of the originals. But, as their testimony may be deemed partial, I will add the remarkable testimony given in the Translator's preface of Dr. Döllinger's "Fables respecting the Popes of the Middle Ages,"¹ a translation undertaken with the sanction of the author,—himself a Romanist. The charge of literary fraud indulged in by Roman Catholic writers is thus delicately expressed :—

"It is impossible to live long among those who are devoted to the interests of the Vatican, or to read much of the literature that is written in support of those interests, without feeling that the conception of truth entertained by those advocates is a saddening travesty of the sacred reality. In some cases the sense of truth, the love of truth for its own sake,—nay, even the very power of discriminating between truth and falsehood,—seems almost lost!"

This want of truth is especially exemplified when the subject of Luther comes under consideration.

We cannot admire the diction of Luther, even in writing a private letter to a friend, never intended for publication, as in the present instance; and it is certainly to be regretted that he should have been so partial to paradox; but, endowed with a penetrating genius himself, he seems to have relied on the perspicacity of those whom he addressed, either orally or epistolarly, to see through the riddle he propounded to them. In this case, for instance, he cannot mean

¹ London, 1871, p. liii.

literally that Satan is a preacher of temperance, well knowing he is just the reverse. He merely embodies the worst of presumptuous sins, the pride of human merit, under the form of Satan, and when such pride says, "Be guilty of no excess, lest *not* my *Master*, but *I* be dishonoured, and lowered in my own eyes and in the eyes of men," Luther retorts: "Nay, a trifling deviation from temperance were a less offence than that self-righteousness which is a fatal impediment to penitence and reformation. There is more hope for the guilty publican than the self-righteous Pharisee." Luther continually refers to the conscience depressing and weighing down the Christian and disheartening him. He bids such to throw off this servile fear of the law, and trust to Christ. Such passages as the above are certainly not for the *million*. Luther was writing to a friend, whose wisdom and discretion he no doubt could trust, who could rightly appreciate such paradoxical modes of expression, and on whose judgment and penetration he could rely. Paradoxes are sometimes excusable, as they tend to excite attention and to impress the memory. Our Lord's discourses are full of paradoxes, and if we took them literally we should make strange blunders. Are we to pluck out the right eye or cut off the right hand if it offend, and thus go maimed, that we may suffer less in hell fire? Or, are we to make friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, that when we fail they may receive us into everlasting habitations? Properly understood, and read in their proper places and at proper times, such paradoxes are justifiable and quite intelligible, particularly if the difficulty is not enhanced by garbling the text, or by making unauthorised additions.

It is, however, such passages as these, torn from the context, and their obvious meaning when used in their right place obscured, on which Luther is accused of teaching antinomianism. The charge so often made has been triumphantly refuted by Hare in his

“Vindication of Luther.”¹ I am, therefore, spared the same task here. Luther’s magnificent work, the “Commentaries on St. Paul’s Epistle to the Galatians,” is a standing monument of his protest against the two extremes, the righteousness of faith against the antinomians, who held faith without righteousness on the one hand, and Romish righteousness, which was a righteousness without faith, on the other. Not only did Luther write and preach against antinomianism, but his works team with exhortations against the delusion that the moral law was not to be revered, and not to be the rule of our conduct. His exposition of the Commandments, and his Catechisms, are sufficient in themselves to refute the calumny. And if the “Table Talk” is to be cited as an authority, which I do not admit, Hare appropriately quotes the following passage:—

“Anno 1541, certain propositions were brought to Luther, as he sat at dinner, importing that the law might not be preached in the Church, because we are not justified thereby. At the sight whereof he was much moved to anger, and said:—‘*If such seducers come already among our people, while we yet live; what will be done when we are gone?*’ He that taketh away the doctrine of the law, doth rend and tear away *politiam et economiam*; and when the law is cast out of the Church, then there is no more acknowledgment of sins in the world.’”

We can readily understand a Papist attacking Luther, and pouring forth his invectives, quoting every scrap he can lay his hands on, to bring into contempt the great Reformer Luther, and he may not deem it a part of his duty to quote or say anything to his credit; but it is different with a Minister of the Reformed Church. If we made Luther’s writings our conduct and rule of action, then it might be Mr.

¹ London, 1855, p. 48, *et seq.*

Baring-Gould's duty to guard us against shoals and quicksands ; but, as Luther is neither our minister nor our guide, and it is admitted that the doctrines and teaching attributed to him are not followed nor recognised by his successors in name, I conceive that, if such a man as the Rev. S. Baring-Gould goes out of the way to warn us against certain alleged extravagances and immoralities of one gone to his rest more than three centuries past, it would be the least expected of him to give the whole truth, and not labour to exhibit Luther, decked in all the filthy rags ingenuity can rake together, collected and taken second hand from his most bitter enemies, while all that is good and virtuous in his character, and all that is godly, evangelical, and scriptural in his writings, are wholly ignored. The rev. gentleman may not consider that the old heathen saying—"*De mortuis nil nisi bonum*"—is binding on him ; but, to Christianise the precept, let us substitute *verum*. In that form he cannot deny its obligation ; let him practise it.

I now proceed to examine some of the extracts, which are quoted in order to illustrate Luther's teaching as before explained, wherein the Rev. S. Baring-Gould misquotes Luther's words and misinterprets his text and meaning. The following extracts are taken from pages 8 and 9 of the Lecture:—

"The law (*i.e.*, the common principle of doing right and avoiding what is wrong) is only given for two objects, Luther taught,—first, for the guidance of civil courts, to tell them what to punish ; and, secondly, to drive men to despair of themselves. Thus justification was characterised by two features, abandonment of all attempt at sanctification on man's part, and full acceptance of the sanctification which is external and imputed. 'If the law frightens you, accuses you, shows you your sin, and menaces you with the wrath of God and the fear of death,' says the

Doctor in his classical work, 'The Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians,' 'act as though there were no such a thing as sin, as though Christ alone existed, who is all grace and redemption.' Or if you feel in your soul the terrors of the law, say, 'Out law, I won't listen to you. Your time is over, and I am free. I will no longer endure your domination.'"

The reference to this portion of the quotation is "Com. in Gal., ed. Irmischer, ii. 144." Then, after citing some few extracts from other works of Luther, he continues with the following quotation, as from Luther's same Commentaries on the Galatians :—

"'If you allow the law to rule your conscience, you have to do with conquering sin and death, for the law is nothing else but a sink of all evils, heresies, and blasphemies, for it only aggravates sin, accuses, frightens, threatens death, shows God as an angry Judge condemning sinners. Wherefore, if prudent, you will drive away that *blear-eyed* stammering Moses with his law, and in no way trouble your conscience with his terrors and threats. Let him be to you suspected as a heretic, excommunicate, damned, worse than Pope and devil, and on no account to be listened to'" (see *ante*, p. 60).

The reference to this portion of the quotation is "Com. on Gal., Francof., 1543, f. 310." Thus treating the two passages as if they were from distinct treatises to be found only in two different editions of Luther's works. Whereas the passages are taken from one continuous comment on the text Galatians iv. 3, *one immediately following the other*.

Luther is speaking of faith apart from works :—

In the matter of Justification, he says, the law is to be treated with contempt; in this he strictly follows Paul, who calls the works of the law "the weak and beggarly elements" (Gal. v. 9), and here the

“Elements of the world”; but, *out of the matter of justification*, he says, with Paul, that we ought to think reverently of the law, to commend it highly, to call it holy, just, good, spiritual, and divine. Now, the suppression of this emphatic distinction, and Luther’s approval, nay, actual recommendation of the works of the law in this place, constitute the deception of which we have to complain; it is a misrepresentation of Luther’s text and meaning, in order to make out a charge against Luther’s teaching. Luther’s method of enforcing his idea of justification is sufficiently strong and startling; and therefore to drop the portions which really explain his meaning is, to say the least of it, an unfair method of dealing with the argument of an opponent; and this becomes the more inexcusable when the Lecturer puts his readers off their guard, by declaring that he is “not in the least exaggerating Luther’s teaching,” and that he proposes to establish his charges “from Luther’s own writings”; and that he quotes Luther’s “express words”; his only difficulty being that he is “embarrassed by the multitude of passages at his disposal” (pp. 6, 7). To set the matter before the reader, I will give, in translation, the entire context, and place the passages relied on by Mr. S. Baring-Gould between [].¹

Luther is commenting on the text, “Even so we, when we were in bondage under the elements of the world,” Gal. iv. 3; he says (fol. 180 B, *et seqq.*):—

“Paul therefore calls the law the ‘elements of the world,’—that is to say, the outward laws and traditions written in a certain book. For although the law civilly bridle a man from evil, and constrain him to do well, yet, notwithstanding

¹ I may repeat here, that in this and all my other quotations from the “Commentaries on the Galatians,” I have adopted the translation of the Black Letter edition, London, 1616, merely modernising the style.

being kept after this sort, it does not deliver him from sin, it does not justify him, nor does it prepare a way for him to heaven, but leaves him in the world. I do not obtain righteousness and everlasting life because I do not kill, I do not commit adultery, I do not steal, &c. These outward virtues and honest conversation are not the kingdom of Christ nor the heavenly righteousness, but the righteousness of the flesh and of the world: which also the Gentiles had; and not only the merit-mongers, as in the time of Christ the Pharisees, and in our times the Monks and Friars, &c. This righteousness some observe to avoid the punishment of the law; some that they may be praised of men and esteemed righteous, constant, and patient, and therefore it is rather *to be called coloured hypocrisy*, than righteousness." (See *ante*, p. 68.)

"Moreover, the law, when it is in principal use, and in office, can do nothing but accuse, terrify, condemn, and kill. But where such terror, such feeling of sin, of death, of the wrath and judgment of God is, there is no righteousness, no divine or heavenly thing; but all these are mere things of the world, which (because it is the kingdom of the devil) is nothing else but a certain puddle of sin, of death, of hell, and of all evils; which the fearful, sorrowful, and heavy-hearted feel, but the secure and careless contemnners do not feel them. Wherefore the law, even in its best and most perfect use, does nothing else but reveal and increase sin, and strike into us the terror of death; and these are but worldly things. We see, then, that the law gives no lively, no healthful, no divine or heavenly thing, but only worldly things. Wherefore Paul does very fitly call the law the elements or rudiments of the world.

"And although Paul calls the whole law the

rudiments of the world (as may appear by what I have before said), yet principally he thus speaks in contempt of the ceremonial laws; which although they profit never so much, yet (he says) they consist only in outward things, as meat, drink, apparel, places, times, the temple, the feasts, washings, the sacrifices, &c., which are but mere worldly, and things ordained of God only for the use of this present life, but not to justify or save before God. Therefore by this clause *the rudiments of the world*, he rejects and condemns the righteousness of the law, which consists in these outward ceremonies, being notwithstanding ordained and commanded by God to be observed for a time, and by a contemptible name Paul called it the rudiments of the world. So the Emperor's laws are rudiments of the world, for they relate to worldly matters, that is to say of things concerning this present life, as of goods, possessions, inheritance, murders, adulteries, robberies, &c.; whereof the second table of the Commandments speaks. As for the Pope's Canon laws, and Decretals, which forbid marriages and meats, those Paul in another place (1 Timothy iv. 1) calls the doctrine of devils; which are also the rudiments of the world, but that they do most wickedly bind men's consciences to the observance of outward things contrary to the word of God and faith. Wherefore the law of Moses gives nothing but worldly things, that is to say, it does only show civilly and spiritually the evils that are in the world. *Notwithstanding, if it be in its true use, it drives the conscience by its terrors to seek and thirst after the promise of God, and to look unto Christ.*¹ But that you may so

¹ "Urget tamen, si est in vero usu, suis terroribus conscientiam, ut sitiatur et quærat promissionem Dei, et intueatur in Christum."—Com. in Gal. iv. 3. Irmscher, Erlangæ, 1844, tom. ii., p. 143.

do, you have need of the aid and assistance of the Holy Ghost, which may say in your heart: It is not the will of God, that after the law had done its office in you, you should only be terrified and killed; but that when you are brought by the law to the knowledge of your misery and damnation, you should not despair, but believe in Christ, 'who is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth.' (Rom. x. 4.) Here is no worldly thing done, but here all worldly matters and all laws cease, and heavenly things begin now to appear. Therefore so long as we are under the rudiments of the world,—that is to say, under the law, which gives not only no righteousness and peace of conscience, but reveals and increases sins, and engenders wrath,—we are servants and subject to the law, although we have the promise of the blessing to come. Indeed, the law says, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God'; but that I may be able so to do or to apprehend Christ, this the law cannot give.

"I do not say this to the end that the law should be despised, neither does Paul so mean, but it ought to be had in great estimation. But because Paul is here in the matter of Justification, it was necessary that he should speak of the law as of a thing very contemptible and odious. For the question of Justification is a very different thing from the law. We cannot speak basely and contemptuously enough of the law when we are in this matter. When the conscience therefore is in the conflict, then should it think upon nothing, know nothing at all but Christ only and alone. Then should it remove the law utterly out of sight, and embrace nothing but the promise concerning Christ. To say this, it is an easy matter: but in the time of temptation when the conscience wrestles in the presence of God, to do it indeed of all things it is the hardest; to wit that [when

the law accuses you, terrifies you, reveals unto you your sin, threatens the wrath of God, and eternal death, that then (I say) you should have such strength of faith in Christ, as if there had never been any law or any sin, but only Christ, mere grace and redemption, or, if you positively experience the terrors of the law, that you should be able to say—‘O law, I will not hear thee, for thou *hast a stammering and a slow tongue*; moreover the fulness of time is now come, and therefore I am free, and will not suffer thy tyranny any longer.’] Here a man may see how hard it is to separate the law from grace: again, how divine and heavenly a thing it is to hope here even against hope, and how supremely true this proposition of Paul is, that we are justified by faith alone.”¹

This is the first passage purported to be quoted. Luther proceeds:—

“Learn here therefore to speak of the law most

¹ “Non dico ista eo consilio, quod lex contemnenda sit, neque Paulus hoc agit, sed in magno pretio habenda est. Quia vero Paulus hic versatur in loco justificationis (longe autem alia est disputatio de justificatione, quam de lege), necessitas postulabat, ut de lege tanquam de re contentissima loqueretur; neque satis viliter et odiose, cum in hoc argumento versamur, de ea loqui possumus. Ideo conscientia in vero agone nihil prorsus cogitare et nosse debet, nisi unicum Christum; ac summis viribus adnitatur, ut tum legem quam longissime e conspectu abjiciat, nihilque amplectatur, quam promissionem Christi. Hoc facile quidem dicitur, sed in tentatione cum conscientia cum Deo agit, hoc posse praestare omnium difficillimum est, nempe ut tum etiam, cum lex te terret, accusat, peccatum ostendit, minatur iram Dei ac mortem, sic affectus sis, quasi nunquam fuerit lex aut ullum peccatum, sed solus Christus, mera gratia et redemptio, aut si etiam sentias terrorem legis, tamen dicas: Lex, non audiam te, quia habes impeditam et tardam linguam. Deinde plenitudo temporis jam venit, ideo liber sum. Non feram igitur amplius imperium tuum, &c. Ibi cernitur, quam omnium difficillimum sit legem a gratia discernere, quam plane divinum et coeleste donum sit, posse hic in spem praeter spem credere, quamque verissima sit haec Pauli propositio, sola fide nos justificari.” Irmischer, Erlangæ, 1844, vol. ii., p. 144.

contemptuously *in the matter of justification*, by the example of the Apostle, who calls the law the rudiments of the world, pernicious traditions, the strength of sin, the ministry of death, &c. [For if you suffer the law to bear rule in your conscience when you stand before God, wrestling against sin and death, then is the law indeed nothing else but a sink of all evils, heresies, and blasphemies; for it does nothing but increase sin, accuse and terrify the conscience, threaten death, and set forth God as an angry Judge, who rejects and condemns sinners. Here, therefore, if you be wise, banish this stuttering (timorous) and stammering Moses far from you with his law, and let not its terrors and threatenings in any wise move you. Here let him utterly be suspected by you as an heretic, as an excommunicate and condemned person, worse than the Pope and the devil himself, and therefore not to be heard or obeyed in any case.¹] *But, out of the matter of justification we ought with Paul to think reverently of the law, to commend it most highly, to call it holy, just, good, spiritual and divine. Out of the case of conscience we should make a god of it,*

¹ This is the second passage quoted by the Rev. S. Baring-Gould, which follows immediately on the last paragraph.

“Ex his ergo disce, ut in causa justificationis contentissime de lege loquaris exemplo Apostoli, qui legem vocat elementa mundi, mortiferas traditiones, virtutem peccati, &c. Nam si permiseris legem in conscientia dominari, cum tibi res est cum peccato et morte vincendis coram Deo, re vera nihil aliud est lex, quam omnium malorum, haeresum et blasphemiarum sentina, quia tantum auget peccatum, accusat, terret, minatur mortem, ostendit Deum iratum judicem, qui damnat peccatores. Quare hic, si prudens es, longissime ableges Mosen balbum et blaesum cum sua lege, neque ullo modo te moveant terrores et minae ipsius. Hic simpliciter sit tibi suspectus, ut haereticus, excommunicatus, damnatus, deterior papa et diabolo, ideo prorsus non audiendus.

“Ceterum extra locum justificationis debemus cum Paulo reverenter sentire de lege, et eam summis laudibus vehere, appellare sanctam, justam, bonam, spiritualem, divinam,” &c.—Ibid. Id.

but in the case of conscience it is a very devil. For, in the least temptation that can be, it is not able to raise up and comfort the conscience, but it does directly to the contrary; it terrifies it, oppresses it with heaviness, and plucks it from the assurance of righteousness and life, and of all goodness. Whereupon Paul a little after calls it *weak and beggarly rudiments*. Wherefore let us not suffer the law in any case to bear rule in our conscience, especially seeing it cost Christ so great a price to deliver the conscience from the tyranny of the law. For he was made a curse for us, that he might deliver us from the curse of the law."

I need scarcely point out to the reader the gross perversion of Luther's meaning, as well as his text. It will be seen that this translation of the text is literally correct as given in the Irmischer edition referred to by Mr. Baring-Gould.

On Gal. v. 1 (fol. 232, A), Luther carries out the same idea:—

"Our conscience must be instructed and prepared beforehand, that when we feel the accusation of the law, the terrors of sin, the horrors of death, and the wrath of God, we may remove these heavy sights and fearful fantasies out of our minds, and set in their place the freedom purchased by Christ, the forgiveness of sins, righteousness, life, and the everlasting mercies of God."

And here we may profitably repeat a passage from the same Commentaries I have already quoted (fol. 232, B):—

"Let us learn therefore to magnify this our liberty purchased by Jesus Christ the Son of God, by whom all things were created both in heaven and in earth. Which liberty he has purchased with no other price than with his own blood, to deliver us not from any bodily or temporal servi-

tude, but from a spiritual and everlasting bondage under mighty and invincible tyrants, to wit, the law, sin, death, and the devil, and so to reconcile us unto God the Father. Now, since these enemies are overcome, and we are reconciled unto God by the death of his Son, it is certain that we are righteous before God, and that whatsoever we do pleaseth him. And although there be certain remnants of sin yet still in us, they are not laid to our charge, but pardoned for Christ's sake."

The reader may or may not agree with Luther or the Pauline theory of Justification; that is not the question; for Luther undoubtedly teaches the same system as did Paul. But the question is, has the Rev. S. Baring-Gould fairly and honourably quoted Luther's words, fairly and honourably interpreted Luther's text?

The next passage to which I desire to draw attention is the following in p. 10 of the Lecture:—

"The quintessence of the devil's art, says Dr. Martin Luther, is to make people believe that the Gospel contains moral law instead of absolute liberty.¹⁶ The devil it is who frightens us by making us regard Christ as a lawgiver and a judge, asking us to give an account of our actions — 'Si Christus, specie irati judicis aut legislatoris apparuerit, qui exigit rationem transactæ vitæ, certo sciamus, eum furiosum esse diabolum, non Christum.'¹⁷"

The figures "16" refer to the "Table Talk," which I have already stated is of no authority, though even that is misrepresented. The figures "17" refer to the "Irmischer" edition, "ii. 209."

It must be borne in mind that the Rev. Lecturer selects "tit-bits," as it were, to illustrate the points on which he bases his particular accusations against Luther.

Let the reader judge for himself in this case. Luther is commenting on the text Gal. v. 2-6 :—

“Behold, I Paul say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing. For I testify again to every man that is circumcised, that he is a debtor to do the whole law. Christ is become of no effect unto you, whosoever of you are justified by the law ; ye are fallen from grace. For we through the Spirit wait for the hope of righteousness by faith. For in Jesus Christ neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision ; but faith which worketh by love.”

Luther continues (the passage relied on by the rev. gentleman is placed in []) :—(fol. 235, B.)

“Paul does not say that works of themselves are nothing, but that confidence and righteousness in works are nothing ; for that would make Christ unprofitable. Therefore who so receives circumcision, with this opinion that it is necessary to justification, to him Christ avails nothing.

“Let us bear this well in mind in our private temptations, when the devil accuses and terrifies our conscience to drive it to desperation. For he is the father of lying, and the enemy of Christian liberty ; therefore he torments us every moment with false fears, that when our conscience has lost this Christian liberty, it should feel the remorse of sin and condemnation, and always remain in anguish and terror. When that great dragon (I say), that old serpent the devil (who deceives the whole world and accuses our brethren in the presence of God day and night, Apoc. 12), comes and lays to your charge that you have not only done no good, but have also transgressed the law of God, say to him : ‘Thou troublest me with the remembrance of my sins past ; thou puttest me also in mind that I have done no good. But this is nothing to me ; for if either I trusted in my own good deeds, or dis-

trusted because I have done none, Christ should both ways profit me nothing at all. Therefore, whether thou lay my sins before me, or my good works, I do not despair, but removing both far out of my sight, I only rest on that liberty where-with Christ hath made me free. I know Him to be profitable to me, and therefore I will not make Him unprofitable, which I should do if either I should presume to purchase myself favour and everlasting life by my good deeds or should despair of my salvation because of my sins.

“Wherefore let us learn with all diligence to separate Christ far from all works, as well good as evil, from all laws, both divine and human, and from all troubled consciences, for with all these Christ has nothing to do. He has to do (I grant) with afflicted consciences, though not to afflict them more, but to raise them up, and in their affliction to comfort them. [Therefore, if Christ appears in the likeness of an angry judge, or of a lawgiver, who requires a strict account of our past life, then let us assure ourselves that it is not Christ, but a raging fiend.] For Scripture portrays Christ to be our reconciliation, our advocate, and our comforter; such a one He is and ever shall be; He cannot be unlike Himself.

“Therefore, whensoever the devil, transforming himself into the likeness of Christ, disputes with us after this manner: ‘This thou oughtest, being admonished by my word, to have done and hast not done it; and this thou oughtest not to have done, and hast done it; know thou, therefore, that I will take vengeance on thee, &c.’ Let this nothing at all move us, but by-and-by let us thus think with ourselves: ‘Christ speaks not to poor, afflicted, and despairing consciences after this manner; He does not add affliction to the afflicted; He breaks not the bruised reed, neither does He quench the smoking flax. Indeed, to

the hard-hearted He speaks sharply ; but such as are terrified and afflicted He most lovingly and comfortably draws unto Him, saying, ' Come unto me all ye that travail and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you ; I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance. Be of good comfort, my son, thy sins are forgiven thee, be not afraid. I have overcome the world. The Son of Man came to seek out and to save that which was lost.' We must take good heed, therefore, lest that we, being deceived by the wonderful flights and infinite subtleties of Satan, do not receive an accuser and condemner instead of a comforter and Saviour; and so under the vizard of a false Christ, that is to say, of the devil, we lose the true Christ, and make Him unprofitable unto us. This much have we said as touching private and particular temptations, and how we should use ourselves therein."

Here, then, with the context, Luther's meaning is clear. The Rev. S. Baring-Gould may not agree with Luther; but that is a greater reason why he should have set out the entire context, and argue from that, and not from a garbled extract.

I take the following from pages 16 and 17 of the same Lecture :—

"To him who is justified sin ceases to be sinful. 'Thou seest how rich is the Christian,' wrote he (Luther) in his tract on the Babylonish captivity; 'even if he will he cannot destroy his salvation by any sins, how grievous soever, unless he refuse to believe.'⁶⁰ 'Be then a sinner, and sin boldly, but still more boldly believe and rejoice in Christ. From Him sin shall not separate us; no, though a thousand thousand times in every day we should commit fornication or murder.'⁶¹ 'If in faith adultery be committed it is not sin.'⁶²"

The reference to "50" is "ii. f. 264"; "51,"

“Epist. Jen., 1556, i. 548”; and “52,” “Disput., i. 523.”

In examining these three notable passages, found in every attack on Luther (and they appear exactly in the same order, with the same references, in Möhler’s “Symbolism”), my labours have been relieved by the very practical explanation given by Archdeacon Hare in his excellent work, “Vindication of Luther against his recent English Assailants.”¹ I shall to a considerable extent adopt Mr. Hare’s “Vindication.”

The first of the three passages, as from Luther, is also quoted by Ward in his attack on Luther thus :—

“So thou seest how rich is the Christian; even if he will he cannot destroy his salvation by any sins how greivous soever, unless he refuse to believe. For no sins can condemn him except unbelief alone. All others, if faith in the Divine promise made at Baptism *return or remain, are absorbed in a moment through the same faith.*”

These words, if faith be nothing more than an intellectual conviction, are doubtless very false and mischievous. At the same time, it is plain on the face of them, even as they stand here, that they will admit of an interpretation, whereby they will only be

¹ Second edition, London, 1855. With reference to this work, I may state that the Rev. S. Baring-Gould, if he never took the trouble to read what it had to say in justification of Luther, was quite aware of its existence. A valued correspondent writes to me: “It may be worth while to mention, as you are engaged on another vindication of Luther, that when Mr. Baring-Gould stated, some months ago in *The Guardian*, that Archdeacon Hare had practically abandoned his ‘Vindication’ by republishing the ‘Mission of the Comforter’ without it, I wrote to the Editor to explain that, so far from this being the case, he proposed to publish the two separately, only that each might have a wider circulation, and was at the time of his death preparing a new edition of the ‘Vindication’ with fresh notes. My letter was ‘crowded out,’ and Mr. Baring-Gould’s statement has not been refuted. The edition before me now purports to be reprinted, and enlarged from the notes to the ‘Mission of the Comforter.’”

a strong and abrupt way of declaring that forgiveness of sins which we receive through the death and passion of our blessed Saviour, of which we become partakers by faith, and which is not limited to sins of a certain magnitude, and incapable of embracing the greater, but is sufficient to cover them all,—with the exception, at least, of the one unpardonable sin,—and, though they are as scarlet, can make them white as snow; though they are like the sins of David, can put them away in a moment.

Now, if we turn to the treatise *De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiæ*, from which the extract is taken (a treatise written in 1520, in the very crisis and agony of the conflict between the principles of the old Church and those of the Reformation, in Luther's own soul, and therefore necessarily bearing marks of the vehemence of the strife), we find that it stands in that portion which is devoted to the vindication of the Sacrament of Baptism from its Romish corruptions. And, by the way, this is a further reply to the rev. gentleman's charge that Luther "taught the nothingness of the sacraments"! After saying that this Sacrament, as administered to little children, had been preserved through God's mercy uncontaminated by the manifold abuses which had turned the other into an instrument of gain, he adds:—

"But while Satan was unable to extinguish the virtue of Baptism in infants, he yet prevailed so as to extinguish it in all adults; insomuch that there is scarcely anybody who calls to mind that he was baptised, much less who glories in it, so many other ways having been found out for remitting sins and for going to heaven. These notions have been promoted by that dangerous saying of St. Jerome, in which he calls repentance the second plank after the shipwreck. For hence when people fell into sin, despairing of the first plank of the ship, as though it had been lost, they began to lean and rely solely on the second plank,

that is, on repentance.¹ Hence arose those infinite burthens of vows, religious orders, works, satisfactions, pilgrimages, indulgences, sects, and other of those oceans of books, questions, opinions, human traditions, which the whole world can hardly contain, so that this tyranny is oppressing the Church of God incomparably worse than it ever oppressed the Synagogue or any nation under the sun. Primarily, therefore, in Baptism should we attend to the Divine promise, which declares, 'He who believes, and is baptised, shall be saved'; which promise is to be preferred immeasurably to all the pomps of works, vows, religious orders, and whatsoever man has introduced. This declaration ought to have been inculcated diligently on the people; the promise ought to have been assiduously repeated to them; they should have recurred continually to their Baptism; faith in it ought to have been perpetually excited and cherished. For as, when this Divine promise has once been brought to bear upon us, its truth endures even to our death, so our faith in it ought never to intermit, but to be fostered and strengthened even to our death by the constant recollection of the promise made to us in Baptism. Wherefore, when we arise out of our sins, or repent, we do nothing else than return to the virtue of our Baptism, and to the faith in it from which we have fallen; and we recur to the promise then made to us, which through sin we had deserted. For the truth of the promise once made abides for ever, ready with outstretched hand to receive us when

¹ Luther is here exclusively referring to the Romish theory, involved in the so-called Sacrament of Penance, as the context clearly shows, and "Repentance" should be rendered "*Penance*." Jerome's "second plank after the shipwreck" is referred to in the "Catechism of the Council of Trent" as implying the Sacrament of Penance, though not asserted to be a Sacrament in his day.

we return. In the next place it will be no slight benefit, if the penitent laying hold first of all on the recollections of his Baptism, and trustfully calling to mind the Divine promise which he has deserted, acknowledges it to God, rejoicing that he has such a bulwark of safety still in reserve, in that he has been Baptised, declaring his detestation of his impious ingratitude in falling away from the faith and truth of his Baptism. For his heart will be wonderfully comforted and animated to a hope of mercy, if he considers that the Divine promise made to him, which cannot lie, is still entire and unchanged, and cannot be changed by any sins of his; as St. Paul says: 'If we believe not, He abideth faithful: He cannot deny Himself.' This truth of God, I say, will save him; so that, though all other things perish, this, if he believe in it, will not forsake him. For if the children of Israel, when about to turn to repentance, began by commemorating their coming out of Egypt, and by this recollection returned to the God who brought them out, which recollection, and this their safeguard, is so often inculcated on them by Moses, and repeated by David,—how much more ought we to commemorate our coming out of our Egypt, and in this recollection to return to him who brought us out by the laver of a new regeneration, the remembrance of which is enjoined on us for this very purpose! Thus we read of a certain virgin who, whenever she was tempted, repelled the temptation with her Baptism, saying briefly, 'I am a Christian.' For the enemy immediately understood the virtue of Baptism, and of her faith, which relied upon the truth of God's promise, and fled from her. *Thus you see how rich the Christian or Baptised person is, who, even though he wish it, cannot destroy his salvation by any sins whatever, unless he will not believe. For no sin can condemn him,*

except unbelief alone. All others, if faith in the Divine promises made to him at his baptism return or stand fast, are absorbed in a moment by the same faith, yea, trust in God; because He cannot deny himself, if you confess Him, and cleave faithfully to His promise. Whereas contrition, and confession of sins, and satisfaction for them, and all those human devices, will soon fail you, and make you more unhappy, if, forgetting this Divine truth, you rest upon them. For whatever laborious efforts we make, without faith in God's truth, are the vanity of vanities and vexation of spirit."

From this extract we see the real meaning of the words, which the Rev. S. Baring-Gould borrowed either from Möhler or Ward, and which they cite as a scarecrow. Indeed, the sentiment was afterwards anathematised in the sixth Tridentine canon on Baptism, in which these words are cited,—though without mention of Luther's name,—with a sophistical perversion of their meaning, through the omission of the context. Luther, whom the rev. gentleman, following Newman, charges with "abolishing Sacraments to introduce barren and dead ordinances," is speaking of the power of that grace which is conferred on us in our baptism, and whereby we become the children of God; and he asserts, most truly, that the adoption bestowed on us then is not a mere shadow, but a mighty reality; that the evangelical promise of forgiveness of sins, of which we then receive the pledge, is not given merely to Heathens on their becoming Christians, but to Christians also; that to the Christian sinner also Christ says, "Thy sins are forgiven thee," before he says, "Arise and walk"; that if we go to Him with a humble living faith in the power of His atonement in the reconciliation which He has wrought for us, our sins, though they be as scarlet (and who, knowing the terrible depths of sin, will not confess that his are so?), shall be washed out at once,

and will not be left for us to wash out by an endless scouring with the sand of good works; whereby, even though our offences were as the sands of the sea in number, we should be continually deepening the stain, rather than expunging it. *Take thy stand on thy Baptism*, says this disparager of Baptism; *not in thine own works, thine own sorrow, thine own penances, but in God's promise made to thee at thy Baptism,—therein thou wast received by Him to be his child. Be assured that this reception was a reality, that thou didst become His child. Go to Him as such in humble faith. His arms are already stretched out to receive thee. Great as thy sins may be, let them not keep thee away; they cannot be greater than those of many whom he has received among His Lambs. Christ did not die for the righteous, but for sinners. The way into the Kingdom of Heaven has been opened for publicans and harlots; and so it is open for thee.*

Thus, the passage which is held up to reprobation is in fact an assertion of that blessed truth, which is the only possible comfort for all such as have been brought to a spiritual conviction of sin: and it coincides exactly with the sentences on the same subject cited by Maurice, in his second letter, in the first edition of his “Kingdom of Christ”; where, strengthening himself with the authority of Luther, he vindicates the same blessed truth against the unscriptural notions concerning post-baptismal sins promulgated by the new Oxford School of Theology. It is an assertion of the blessed truth declared in the parable of the Prodigal Son, as its meaning and purport have been beautifully explained by Dr. Trench, a truth so blessed that the mere natural understanding cannot receive it, even after it has been revealed and declared. Hence, all those who, following the dictates of their natural understanding only, have set themselves to dechristianise Christianity have ever begun by denying the freedom and fulness of Divine grace, and by maintaining that God cannot give it except to

those who will buy it of Him, though the utmost we could do would be to pay a grain of sand for a skyful of light. The irrepressible workings of this spirit have especially manifested themselves in the Church of Rome, and are manifesting themselves among us at this day in our modern Romanisers. They cannot believe that there is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth. "No," they say, "the only cause worthy to make the angels rejoice is the sight of the ninety-nine righteous men who need no repentance." They cannot reconcile themselves, any more than the elder brother could, to the notion that the Father should bring forth the best robe, and kill the fatted calf, to welcome the returning Prodigal. They are sure that, if the Father receive him at all, it will be as one of his hired servants, to work off his sins by year-long service, at the rate of a sin a year; whereby, forsooth at the end of the world he might just be beginning to clear off the score of his youth, while a fresh score was daily growing against him.

The next passage appears to have been borrowed, like the former, from Ward; for, as in Ward's attack, the two passages are made to follow each other with the same mistranslating:—

"Be then a sinner, and sin boldly, but still more boldly believe and rejoice in Christ. From Him sin shall not separate us; no, though a thousand times *in every day* we should commit fornication or murder."

One would think that the very enormity of the proposition which appears to be here proposed would lead any charitably-inclined person to pause and consider the entire context before pronouncing an opinion of the author's intention or meaning, and branding him as a libertine, letting alone the mis-translation of "uno die." But no, that does not appear to be the object of Luther's traducers. Such a passage, torn from the context, presents just such expressions as suited their purpose, and they point to it in triumph, as proving

what they wanted to establish, and do not wait to examine whether, on a nearer view, it may not prove, as it really does, perfectly innocent. The same charge against Luther was made by Möhler, and was triumphantly refuted by Baur.

The sentiment as it stands, and the interpretation attached to it by the rev. gentleman, forcibly remind us of the present teaching and practice of the Roman Church in their doctrine of "Penance," called a Sacrament, which I have already hinted at in a preceding page, and as an essential part of the Romish Sacramental system. Their catechism points out, "that there is no sin, however grievous, no crime *however often repeated, which Penance does not remit,*"¹ be the sin murder, fornication, adultery, incest, or sacrilege,² "though a thousand times in every day we should commit fornication and adultery." I have shown that perfect repentance or "contrition" is not only not required in order to obtain remission of these sins in the Sacrament of Penance, but is declared to be absolutely a hindrance. This is effected by the absolution of the Priest, which follows the remission of the sin itself, and of the eternal punishment due to it, leaving a temporal punishment due, which can also be relieved by indulgences, and that indulgences extending to 10,000 or 20,000 years are specially reserved by the Popes for those who had "accustomed themselves to perjury and blasphemy almost every moment, and frequently committed murders, thefts, sacrileges, and adulteries."³ There is a remarkable

¹ See "Catechism of the Council of Trent," Donovan's Translation, p. 278. Dublin, 1829.

² Ibid., p. 278.

³ See *ante*, pp. 27-29. This is the "Sacramental System" Luther is accused of depreciating to make room for his doctrine of "Justification by Faith," the sacramental system the Rev. S. Baring-Gould would fain re-introduce as an institution of our Reformed Church. It will be remembered that the rev. gentleman informs us that Luther taught that "*good works were a hindrance of justification,*" though he fails to prove that such was, in fact, Luther's teaching. But what of this sacramental system which he would have us adopt in place of

similarity in the language as well as identity of sentiment. But Luther places faith in CHRIST, the Romanist places his faith in the PRIEST. The Roman Priest, in hearing sacramental confession and giving absolution, professes to represent the person of Christ himself! The effect of sacramental absolution is as startling; for it is laid down by a Canonised Saint, whose works have undergone the strictest investigation by the constituted ecclesiastical authorities, and have been certified not to contain one word in his writings worthy of censure, that an adultress, if she has sacramentally confessed adultery, being interrogated on the subject by her husband, can answer *that she is innocent of the crime*, and the reason given is "because by confession it was taken away."¹ Do away with justification by faith, and we fall back on this sacramental system, by which the same grace is to be obtained. Mr. Baring-Gould prefers the sacramental

"Justification by Faith"? Do not Romanists, in fact, teach it. "Justification" through the Sacrament of Penance, the very same theory as charged against Luther in preaching "Justification by Faith,"? For not only do they say that perfect repentance is not at all necessary in order to obtain a remission of sins through the absolution of a priest in the tribunal of Penance, the principal effect of the sacrament; but, on the contrary, that *such contrition is rather a hindrance than otherwise*. Pascal, quoting the words of a famous Jesuit, says:—

"Voilà tout ce qui se peut dire, si ce n'est qu'on veuille ajouter une conséquence, qui se tire aisément de ces principes; qui est, que la contrition est si peu nécessaire au sacrement, qu'elle y seroit au contraire nuisible, en ce qu'effaçant les péchés par elle-même, elle ne laisseroit rien à faire au sacrement. C'est ce que dit notre P. Valentia, ce célèbre Jésuite. Tom. iv., disp. 7, q. 8, p. 4. 'La contrition n'est point du tout nécessaire pour obtenir l'effet principal du sacrement, mais au contraire, elle y est plutôt un obstacle. *Imo obstat potius quominus effectus sequatur.*'"—Pascal, Lett. Prov. x., tom. iii., p. 94, Amsterd., 1767.

What one Jesuit publishes being binding on all, and the Jesuits being now paramount in the Roman Church, this may be fairly assumed to be now the Roman doctrine, *the Sacramental System*, which Mr. Baring-Gould prefers to Luther's doctrine of "Justification by Faith."

¹ Liguori, Moral. Theolog., tom. ii. 22. Mechlin, 1845.

system, because it makes the Priest a God; the power and attributes of the Divinity being vested in him by virtue of this same sacramental system,—at least so the Roman Catechism asserts. If, however, the rev. Lecturer correctly represents the teaching of Luther, we can only look back to Luther's own declaration, when he lamented that his early writings were brought against him. He accordingly wrote a preface to his first volume, in which appears the following passage:—

“All these things are to be read with judgment. For there are many assertions and arguments in this first volume which breathe and smell of the lees and bilgewater of Paris and Louvain. You will perceive that I am merely striving to emerge and force my way out of this thick darkness.”

I will now endeavour, by examining the passage in question with the context, to explain what is really meant to be conveyed in the sentence quoted, but which is most unfairly brought in judgment against Luther. I admit at once that the mode of expression in the abstract is to be deprecated. Its very exaggeration may be styled a “Lutheranism.” We find many such parallel expressions in Luther's writings. In a letter of Luther's, quoted by Seckendorf,¹ denouncing a book written by Bucer, advocating the separation of man and wife otherwise than for adultery, he used the following expression: “And though it snowed pure Neobulos, Neobulos, Hulderics, along with pure devils a whole year through, people shall not make me a right out of this.” Again, when his friends tried to dissuade Luther from venturing to Worms, he replied: “Even if there were as many devils in Worms as there are tiles on the housetops, still I would go thither.” So again in his letter to the Electors, when he expressed his determination to return to Wittenberg, and would not be deterred

² Lib. iii., p. 281. Leips., 1694.

through fear of Duke George, &c., he said "that he would ride thither, even though it were to rain Duke Georges for nine days, and each one of them were nine times more furious than this." Thus we can understand the meaning of the expression, "even though a thousand times *in one day* we commit fornication or kill," the literal perpetration of the acts themselves being impossible. Luther does not say "*every day*" as if including a hardened and systematic sinner. Take the passage thus perverted, and, apart from the context, we might safely picture to ourselves that the words were uttered by a priest in the confessional giving absolution to one of those desperate criminals for whom the ten to twenty thousand years' indulgences are specially reserved. But no! this letter was addressed by Luther to the gentle loving Melancthon,—a strange person truly, as Hare justly observes, to choose as the confidant of such a doctrine, and the recipient of such an exhortation! But let us turn to Luther's letter to Melancthon, and try to ascertain the real meaning of these strange words, which the great Reformer utters in the ears of his young friend.

The letter was written on the 29th of June, 1521, while Luther was confined in the Wartburg. There is only a fragment left, and it is said by Aurifaber to have been found in the Spalatine Library. The letter enters on the consideration of many interesting questions on which Melancthon had sought Luther's advice, especially on the obligations of the clerical and monastic vows, with regard to celibacy. He then speaks on the administration of the Eucharist in one or two kinds. Carlstadt and his followers declared that to receive in one kind was a *positive sin*; and had thus led to disturbances. But Luther, with judgment and forbearance, deprecated the use of violent measures in order to bring back the Church to the primitive institution; but advised that they should content themselves with preaching the truth, which, being appreciated, would bring errors of discipline and

practice to the ground. Melancthon seemed to hold with Carlstadt, but his letter is lost. Luther's letter was apparently addressed to this opinion, and the point mainly discussed is, whether receiving in one kind is a sin :—

“He (Christ) says nothing as to whether those who receive in one kind have *sinned or not* (peccasse vel non peccasse). . . . Neither do pious hearts agree to be deprived of either kind ; but those who consent and approve, who will deny them to have sinned ? (eos peccasse quis negabit ?) When, then, He (Christ) does not require it as necessary, and the thing is done under the pressure of a tyrant, I do not see how those sin who receive in one kind. . . . The Scriptures define nothing, without which we cannot pronounce it a sin. . . . To sum up, because Scripture does not allege this to be a sin, I do not assert it to be a sin.”

Luther then expresses his approbation that at Wittenberg, where they had the power, they had resolved to re-establish Christ's original institution in its integrity, and declares his own purpose never again to perform private mass. After this he speaks of the calamities he considered were impending over Germany :—

“I beg that we pray the Lord to give us more of His Spirit. For I suspect that the Lord will quickly visit Germany, as she deserves, for her unbelief, impiety, and hatred of the Church. But this stroke (*plaga*) will then be inflicted on us, that as heretics we shall be a reproach to men, and despised of the people ; for they will lay hold of excuses for their sins, and will justify themselves, that we may prove that the wicked neither became good by goodness nor by wrath : and many shall be offended. The will of the Lord be done. Amen.”

And after this solemn prognostication of evils im-

pending over the Church, he turns to Melancthon with the following exhortations :—

“If thou art a preacher of grace, preach that it is true, not feigned ; if grace is true, state sin to be true and not feigned. God does not save those who are feigned to be sinners.”

Then follows the passage purported to be quoted, but really misquoted, by the Rev. S. Baring-Gould :—

“Be thou a sinner, and sin strongly;¹ but more strongly trust and rejoice in Christ, who is conqueror of sin, death, and the world. We must sin as long as we are here. This life is not the dwelling-place of righteousness ; but we expect, saith Peter, ‘new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness.’ It is enough that we acknowledge through the riches of glory the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sin of the world ; from Him sin will not take us away, even though a thousand, a thousand times in one day we were to commit fornication or kill. Dost thou suppose that the price of redemption made for our sins, by so great and so precious a Lamb, is so small ? Pray strongly, for thou art a most strong sinner.”

I now add the original text of this passage, which the reader will please to compare with the Rev. S. Baring-Gould’s jaunty and imperfect translation :—

“Si gratiæ prædicator es, gratiam non fictam, sed veram prædica : si vera gratia est, verum, non fictum peccatum ferto ; Deus non facit salvos fecte peccatores. Esto peccator, et pecca fortiter;¹ sed fortius fide, et gaude in Christo, qui

¹ “*Esto peccator, et pecca fortiter.*” The great objection to the Rev. S. Baring-Gould’s interpretation to this phrase is his being so blindly prejudiced, or, what I can scarcely believe, so grossly ignorant as to interpret these imperatives as if they were serious commands. He might as well take the “Go and prosper” of the Prophet (1 Kings xxii. 15) as a serious command ; or “Rejoice, O young man in thy youth” (Eccl. xi. 9), forgetting, “but know thou, that for all these

victor est peccati, mortis, et mundi. Peccandum est, quam diu hic sumus. Vita hæc non est habitatio justitiæ; sed expectamus, ait Petrus, cœlos novos et terram novam, in quibus justitia habitat. Sufficit, quod agnovimus per divitias gloriæ Dei Agnum, qui tollit peccatum mundi; ab hoc non avellet nos peccatum, estiamsi millies, millies uno die fornicemur aut occidamus. Putas, tam parvum esse pretium et redemptionem pro peccatis nostris factam in tanto ac tali Agno? Ora fortiter: es enim fortissimus peccator."

Is it possible to draw from the above the doctrine and teaching sought to be fixed on Luther?

When we read the above passage in connexion with the rest of the letter, especially with the solemn prophecy which just preceded it, thus much is assuredly quite plain, that even if Luther could at other times have given admission to the opinions which the mutilated words above cited and mistranslated seem to imply, and could have avowed them to Melancthon, nay, could have urged Melancthon to act upon them, could have urged him to continue revelling in the grossest sin in order that grace might abound,—at all events, he must have been stark mad to have done this immediately after speaking in such a tone of the evils coming on the Church that is, or the lovers of truth in it, whereat their enemies would exult and triumph and many would be offended. The idea is preposterous. It is evident that the words, "be thou a sinner and sin strongly," are dependent upon, or at least closely connected with, the sentence which precedes them, which the rev. gentleman omits:—"If thou art a preacher of grace, preach that it is true,

things God will bring thee into judgment;" or, "Go and cry unto the gods which ye have chosen" (Judges x. 14); or, "Rejoice and be glad, O daughter of Edom" (Lam. Jerem. iv. 21); or, if the Rev. S. Baring-Gould dislikes being referred to such a Protestant book as the Bible, let him listen to the "I nunc, et versus tecum meditare canoros" of Horace (2 Ep. II. 76).

not feigned ; if grace is true, state sin to be true and not feigned ; God does not save those who are feigned to be sinners." If we had Melancthon's letter, this would probably be quite clear. As it is, the following passages from Luther's Commentary on the Galatians, i. 4, happily come to our aid, and explain what Luther means by *fictum peccatum* and *ficti peccatores*, "feigned sin, and feigned sinners." We there find Luther inveighing against that miserable ignorance of the pervading sinfulness of human nature which led people to devise artificial sins, that they might have something to confess and be forgiven for:—

"Man's reason would fain bring and present unto God a feigned and counterfeit sinner (*fictum et simulatum peccatorem*) who is nothing afraid, nor hath any feeling of sin. . . . The whole world is thus affected, and specially they that would be counted more holy and religious than others, and all justiciaries . . . they will bring their righteousness and deserts to Christ's Judgment Seat, and demand the recompense of eternal life for them at the Judge's hand. In the meanwhile, notwithstanding (as they pretend great humility) because they will not vaunt themselves to be utterly void of sin, they feign certain sins (*fingunt quædam peccata*) that for the forgiveness thereof they may, with great devotion, pray with the publican, 'God, be merciful unto me a sinner.' . . . But learn here of Paul to believe that Christ was given *not for feigned or counterfeit* sins, nor yet for small sins, but for great and huge ones."

And shortly after he adds:—

"Let us, therefore, fortify our hearts with these and the like sentences of Scripture, that to the Devil when he accuses us, 'Thou art a sinner, and therefore condemned,' we may be able to answer, 'Because thou sayest I am a sinner, therefore I wish to be righteous and saved.'

‘*Verily thou wilt be damned.*’ No; for I flee to Christ, who delivered Himself for my sins. Therefore, Satan, nothing wilt thou effect in endeavouring to terrify me, by setting forth the greatness of sin, and thus lead me to sadness, distrust, despair, hatred, despising and blaspheming of God. Verily by this, that thou callest me a sinner, thou furnishest to me arms against thyself, that with thine own sword I may stab and spurn thee, because Christ died for sinners. Thence thou thyself preachest to me the glory of God. For thou remindest me of the fatherly love of God towards me, a wretched and lost sinner, ‘Who so loved the world, that He gave his Own Son,’ &c. Also, as often as thou urgest that I am a sinner, so often dost thou recall to my memory the benefit of Christ my Redeemer, on whose shoulders, not on mine, lie all my sins, for the Lord hath laid all our iniquity upon Him.”

Is this the language of the libertine that Luther’s traducers would fain represent him to be?

The above passages afford us a clue to what appears perplexing in the letter to Melancthon. The latter had been insisting on the sinfulness of receiving in one kind at the Lord’s Table. This practice Luther speaks of as a *fictum peccatum*. He says: You are a preacher of grace; what you are to preach of is not a make-believe, but a mighty reality; and it is not bestowed upon us for the forgiveness of artificial trivialities, but of those awful cleaving sins, of which every man with an awakened conscience must acknowledge himself guilty. God sent His Son into the world to save real sinners, not *fictos peccatores*. Therefore, “*esto peccator, et pecca fortiter*,” literally “be thou a sinner, and sin strongly,” or, otherwise, acknowledge that thou art a great sinner; but be of good heart notwithstanding, do not torment yourself about little things, let not the consciousness of thy sins drive thee to despair. Believe in Christ, and rejoice in Him,

who is the conqueror of sin, of death, and the world ; and let this faith of joy prevail over all the consciousness of thy sins. We need must sin so long as we are in our present state ; but we look, St. Peter tells us, for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness. It is enough that, through the riches of the glory of God, we have the Lamb, who taketh away the sin of the world. From Him sin shall not separate us “ *etiamsi millies, millies uno die fornicemur aut occidamus* ” : “ though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be as white as snow, though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool.” (Isaiah i. 18.) Thinkest thou that the price of redemption offered for our sins in the person of so great and precious a Lamb is so small that it will not avail for thee. Pray boldly and incessantly ; for thou art a very great sinner. This paraphrase expresses the real meaning of Luther. Even Hallam, who quotes the passage to condemn it, having probably seen it second hand, says :—“ He wanted to assert the efficacy of Christ’s imputed righteousness in the most forcible terms, by weighing it against *an impossible accumulation of offences.*”¹

But what are we to say of the Rev. S. Baring-Gould ? How can we sufficiently reprobate the animus which seems to dictate all his citations and interpretations of them ? Dean Swift has passed a severe criticism on such writers, and which I would apply in the present instance : “ Two qualities, necessary to a writer before his judgment should be allowed, are common honesty and common sense, and no man could have misrepresented that paragraph unless he were utterly destitute of one or both.”

I have shown that the modern Popish process, in order to wipe away deadly or mortal sins,—murder, fornication, and adultery,—“ however often repeated,” is to go to a priest of the Roman Church and make

¹ “ *Introd. to the Literature of Europe,*” Part I., chap. iv., note to sect. 60, p. 306. Seventh edition, 1864.

a confession, and obtain from him an absolution. That is just the process the Rev. S. Baring-Gould would desire to bring us to—through the SACRAMENTS to the PRIESTS!! Whereas Luther directs us to look to the “Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world,” and to cast ourselves and all our burdens at His feet. I ask my Christian readers which course commends itself to our wants?

The last passage in the sequence is :—

“If in faith adultery be committed it is not sin.”

This, too, is a favourite passage perpetually quoted by the enemies of Luther for reprobation.

I have already expressed my belief that there is a *deliberately* intended misquotation here, by dropping the two essential words from the text, *fieri posset*. I say deliberate, as Mr. Baring-Gould had the full Latin text before him in Möhler’s “Symbolism.”

“If in faith *it were possible* to commit adultery, it were no sin.”

This again brings to our mind the scandalous proposition of Tetzel, in order to lure people to buy his indulgences,¹ put forth with the connivance and approbation of the Romish hierarchy. To state that proposition once is even once too often.

Several other propositions of a similar nature will readily present themselves. A Pope, as Vicar of Christ, they tell us, can do no wrong, and upon this hypothesis, if he were so far to err (a thing they declare impossible, of course,) by prescribing vices or prohibiting virtues, then the Church would be bound to believe that vices are good and virtues evil, unless she wanted to sin against conscience.²

¹ See *ante*, p. 27. “Venias papales tantas esse, ut solvere possint hominem, etiamsi quis, per impossibile, Dei Genitricem violasset.”

² “Nam fides Catholica docet, omnem virtutem esse bonam, omne vitium esse malum: si autem Papa erraret præcipiendo vitia, vel prohibendo virtutes, teneretur ecclesia credere vitia essa bona, et virtutes malas; nisi vellet contra conscientiam peccare.”—Bellarmine, “De Pont. Rom.” lib. iv., c. v., sect. viii., p. 456. Prag. edit., 1721.

And so, again, in the "Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola,"¹ we are directed "that we may in all things attain the truth, that we may not err in anything, we ought ever to hold it as a fixed principle that what I see *white* I believe to be *black*, if the Hierarchical Church so define it to be." Again, there is the oft-quoted Decretal commencing "*Si Papa*," &c., wherein we read to the effect that, if the Pope were so wicked as to carry with him innumerable people by troops as slaves to hell, to be with himself tormented for ever, yet no mortal man whatever must presume to reprove his faults, because he is judge of all, and himself to be judged of none.² The paradox here, as would be explained by a Romanist, is clear. The Pope being (as pretended, of course) infallible, can do no wrong, much less do such an extravagant act as here stated. The very extravagance points to the impossibility of the act. It is presented to us as a paradox, more extravagant even than that of Luther's. The misquotation, therefore, is the more to be reprobated, for it destroys the character of the passage clearly advanced as a paradox; whereas, by dexterous manipulation, it is presented to us as an assertion

The Jesuit Grester, nevertheless, a contemporary of Bellarmine, in his "Defence of Bellarmine," expounds this passage as follows:—"Almighty God would have been wanting to His Church in things necessary to salvation, if the Roman Pontiff could err in moral precepts on necessary points; for the *Church would be bound* to obey him as her supreme pastor, and yet, by obeying him, would fall into a pernicious error."—Grester, "*Defensio Bellarmini, De Pont.*" iv. 5, vol. iii., p. 1029, edit. 1609. Quoted by Wordsworth, "*Letters to Gondon.*" Sequel, 1848 (Second edition, 1848), p. 39.

¹ Dr. Wiseman's edition, London, 1847, pp. 173-180.

² "*Si vero suæ et fraternæ salutis negligens deprehenditur inutilis, et remissus in operibus suis, et insuper a bono taciturnus (quod magis officit sibi et omnibus) nihilominus innumerabiles populos catervatim secum ducit, primo mancipio gehennæ cum ipso, plagis multis in æternum vapulaturus: cujus culpas istic redarguere præsumit mortalium nullus; quia cunctos ipse judicaturus a nemine judicandus, nisi forte deprehendatur a fide devius.*"—Decret. I., Part I., Dist. xl., sec. 6. tom. i., pp. 53, 54, Corp. Juris., Edit. Basil, 1779. Reprinted from the Paris edit., 1687, a Petro Pithoeo.

inculcating the grossest immorality. Indeed, it is evident that all the above hyperbolic propositions are based on the supposition that the Pope or the Church cannot possibly err ; of course, an assumption which history has proved to be utterly untrue. It is an extravagant way of putting forth the proposition as a paradox. But when a poor "Apostate Monk" adopts a similar figure, he is to be branded with the sin of teaching that which the proposition in fact practically condemns. Nevertheless, the proposition as advanced by Luther is logically true,¹ though it would be, at the present day, rank folly, if not worse, to scatter such sayings among those who are likely to misunderstand and misuse them, particularly when assisted by a perversion of the text itself, as in the present instance, and advanced side by side with other equally startling and distorted propositions. Such is the course adopted by the Rev. S. Baring-Gould. But however offensive and mischievous this proposition may seem, when taken insulatedly, if we look at it in the original chain of theses, by which Luther, in the year 1520, set forth and revived the great truth, that faith, as the recipient of justification, is exclusive of works, and that unbelief is the prime, fontal sin, the source of all other sins, the meaning of the paradox is quite plain ; and we see how he was led to assert it in this naked form, while contending against the dismal confusion which prevailed with regard to the relation between faith and works. That relation is strikingly declared in the following antithetical paradoxes :—

"Fides nisi sit sine ullis, etiam minimis operibus, non justificat, imo non est fides. Impossibile est fidem esse sine assiduis, multis, et magnis operibus."

Hence it is plain (continues Mr. Hare, in his review of the passage in question), what is the purpose of the thesis selected for reprobation, and how it is to be

¹ Here I am following the line of argument adopted by Hare.

answered, by the denial, not of the consequence, but of the premises; for if the premises be granted, the consequence must follow. Logically, it is analogous to such common sayings as, *if the sky falls we shall catch larks*; which serves a like purpose of sharpening the faculty of making distinctions; and though it would be justly shocking to use such a moral paradox for this comparatively trivial purpose, Luther's saying is justified by the practice of the schools, the occasion which called it forth, and the company amid which it stands, which sufficiently guards it against misapprehension.

The more extravagant and immoral the proposition appears to us to be, who are unaccustomed to hear theological dogmas enforced in such a manner, the more it behoved the Rev. S. Baring-Gould to be accurate in placing before his readers the proposition in Luther's own words, and not to make that which was not immoral in itself decidedly immoral by a deliberate tampering with Luther's text.

It would be bad enough if the case rested here, but the same system is carried out throughout the Lecture. Whenever Luther laments the sins and iniquities of the times he lived in and the degeneracy of Christianity, the rev. gentleman at once seizes on the passages, and applies them as if Luther were lamenting the result of his own teaching. He proceeds thus, in page 17 of the Lecture:—

“Let us now consider the moral results of Luther's doctrine. At first sight we should suppose, from the nature of the teaching, that it would give the rein to all manner of licence and corruption. It certainly appears to proclaim, and indeed professes to proclaim, the entire release of the Christian from all moral obligation, and we should conclude as a probability that he would take advantage of that release.

“Indeed, Dr. Martin Luther once said that probably such would be the result of his Gospel. In

his comment on the 94th Psalm he said, 'People are astonished that under the Gospel men are so much worse than they were under Popery; but if they would only reflect they would see that it could not be otherwise.'⁴

The reference to "54" is "Walch, v. 63."

From one end of the page to the other, taking both columns, "Popery" is not mentioned, nor is there the slightest justification for its introduction, nor intimation that Luther was referring "to *his* Gospel." Are we to charge the rev. gentleman with ignorance, carelessness, or deliberate misrepresentation? Being unable to identify the passage intended, he favoured me, in reply to my application, with the extract in German, which I give in English:—

"When God's grace and peace are preached through the Gospel, one wonders that people are so evil, more than before, but it must be so."

The entire passage I give in a footnote.¹ I ask the reader if he can possibly trace in this passage the allegation that Luther conceived that people were

¹ "The passage between [] is that relied on to support the charge:—"20 Stille, dass ist, geduldig, und nicht tobe noch zürne wider die verfolger, welcher ihm böse zeit machen. Böse zeit heisst er, die zeit, da die Tyrannen und Ketzer toben, das ist, ihr Ding anfahen. Denn die Tyrannen verfolgen Lieb und Gut. Die ketzer verfolgen Seele und Geist. Wie kann denn da gute zeit seyn, da Leib und Seele täglich in Gefährlichkeit stehen? Also redet auch St. Paulus Ephes. v. 16. Denn die zeit ist böse, und stimmt zumal fein mit diesem Psalm, auch im nächsten vers, der uns lehret, durch die heilige schrift uns trösten und geduldig seyn in allerley verfolgung. Das ist aber kurzum die Art des Evangelii oder Gottes Worts. Wenn es angehet, so fäheth an böse zeit; Ursache, der Teufel kann es nicht leiden, darum fäheth er zu, und erregeth Tyrannen und Ketzer, dass nimmer weniger Friede, nimmer böser Leute sind und mehr aergerniss, den zur zeit der Gnaden und Friedes; dass ist [wenn man gottes gnade und Frieden prediget welches durch das evangelium geschicht, da wundert man sich denn, dass die Leute so böse sind, mehr den zuvor. Aber es muss so seyn]; denn hier hörest du, dass er klaget über böse zeit, und lehret stille und geduldig seyn, welches man zur guten zeit nicht bedarf."—Edit. Walch, tom. v., col. 63.

worse under the Gospel than under Popery, or that he admitted that it could not be otherwise, if we reflected on the subject!! This passage he tells me, in the same letter, he quotes on Dr. Döllinger's authority. If this be so, he has not only perverted Luther, but Dr. Döllinger also, for Dr. Döllinger gives the German text correctly, in a note, which the Rev. S. Baring-Gould takes upon himself to misquote in English, and mistranslate in the manner above indicated. Is it not monstrous that he should have put this deliberate double perversion before us, and sought in this covert way, by the pretended testimony of Luther, to favour "Popery," at the expense of his own creed? This is not an isolated example, where he tries to bring Luther in judgment against himself; another notable case follows this one, which I shall examine further on. What faith is to be placed in the rev. gentleman's testimony? Can he be trusted? From all this he deduces,—“That, by becoming Lutherans, people, so far from advancing in morality and Christian graces, actually deteriorated is the unanimous testimony of writers,—Catholic, Anabaptist, and Lutheran.”¹ “From all sides,” he says, “testimony pours in, in witnessing to the fact, that the new doctrine produced an unprecedented dissolution of morals.”² The Rev. S. Baring-Gould wishes to reverse the order of history, and persuade us that previously to Luther's Reformation all was peace, holiness, and evangelical purity; afterwards, anarchy, heresy, and “an unprecedented dissolution of morals.” The object in vilifying the Reformation and Reformers is, that we should embrace Popery and the Sacramental System, and submit ourselves again to Priest-rule and Priest-craft! We now, however, begin to understand that the rev. gentleman's testimony, as a fact, is no more to be accepted than that of a Romanist, when we are dealing with the Reformers and the Reformation! The veil of

¹ “Lecture,” p. 28.

² p. 20.

deception thrown over his impostures is so transparent, that it may be seen through at every turn.

Quæ decipiunt, nihil habent solidi. Tenue est mendacium ; perlucet, si diligenter inspexeris.—Seneca, *Epist. lxxix. ad. fin.*

A great satisfaction is exhibited throughout this Lecture that Luther (as alleged) found his doctrine and theories afforded no comfort, but only created doubts and difficulties in his mind. We are told that Luther "was surprised at being unable to act upon his own doctrine"; "his doubts, hesitations, and scruples about the truth of his doctrine arose from several causes,"¹ and he puts forth Satan as Luther's companion in all his troubles and temptations. But in these conflicts with conscience,—with Satan if you will,—the reverend critic stops short of Luther's own account of them. True, in common with other Christians, Luther had his battles with Satan warring within him.² In a paragraph set out by itself (p. 23), probably to make the example more striking, Luther is represented as exclaiming:—

"When Satan begins to dispute with me, and to contest with me the grace of God, I dare not put forth the reply, 'He that loveth God hath the kingdom of God,' for Satan at once reproaches me with, 'But you do not love God.'⁸⁶"

The reference is "Edit. Walch, xxii. 63. Colloquia, ed. Rebenstock, ii. 12"; that is, from the "Table Talk," in the chapter on the "Word of God." Armed, however, with the "Sword of the Spirit, which is the WORD OF GOD," Luther was enabled to withstand the crafts and wiles of the Devil, and so in this very place, partly quoted by the Rev. S. Baring-Gould, does Luther take hold of that "Sword of the Spirit," to guard himself effectually from the attacks of Satan. Luther immediately adds:—

¹ "Lecture," p. 22. This also is borrowed from Döllinger.

² 1 Cor. vii. 5; 2 Cor. ii. 11; Eph. iv. 27; vi. 11, 12; 1 Thess. iii. 5.; James iv. 7; 1 Peter v. 8.

“But with THE WORD OF GOD I have resisted him (Satan). There is no other help or means whereby God (by a word spoken by man or through man) helps one. If, however, we have not THE WORD OF GOD, it is soon all over with us, for then he (the Devil) can ride over and drive the people according to his will.”

I will not stop to inquire why the rev. gentleman did not quote the entire passage, for the object and animus at heart here, as elsewhere, is too apparent.

Then, again, throughout these Lectures it is painfully evident that the rev. critic labours to show, even by the testimony of Luther,—let alone the host of others who are pressed into the service,—that the “practical working of Luther’s doctrine,” and the “demoralisation it produced,” “became most apparent.”¹ After purporting to quote from Schwenkfeld, he thus proceeds:—

“But lest Schwenkfeld should be regarded as prejudiced, let us take Luther’s own account of the results of his doctrine:—‘There is not,’ says he,—‘one of our Evangelicals who is not seven times worse than he was *before he belonged to us*,—stealing, lying, deceiving, eating, and getting drunk, and giving himself up to all kinds of vices. If we have driven out one devil, seven others worse than the first have come in his place.’”⁵⁹

The reference is “Ed. Walch, iii. 2727.” Here it is self-evident that the rev. gentleman, by “our Evangelicals,” intends to point to the new converts to Luther’s teaching. We have seen that he represents Erasmus as challenging Luther to “show him *one of his Evangelicals* who had become a better Christian by the change.”

By the reference we are guided to Luther’s Commentaries on the “fifth Book of Moses, ix. 25.”

¹ “Lecture,” pp. 17–19.

On turning to the column indicated, we find the passage purported to be quoted, but in it there is not the most distant intimation that Luther was pointing to his own people, or to the new converts; but to the state of utter depravity to which priests and people, nobles and commoners,—nominal Christians of all ranks,—had fallen. To pass over the infamous and depraved characters of the Popes, the contemporaries of Luther,—Alexander VI., Julius II., and Leo X.,—it was the Cardinal and Archbishop Bellarmine himself who said :—

“Some years before the rise of the Lutheran and Calvinistic heresy, according to the testimony of those who were then alive, there was almost an entire abandonment of equity in the ecclesiastical judgments; in morals, no discipline; in sacred literature, no erudition; in divine things, no reverence; religion was almost extinct.”¹

Could the most bitter enemy of the Papacy have penned a more damaging passage than this against the Church as it then existed? Hear, again, the declaration of Pope Adrian VI., made through his Nuncio at the Imperial Diet at Nuremberg, in the year 1522, when Luther was beginning to spread consternation in the Popish ranks by his fearless denunciations of existing corruptions :—

“We know that for a long time there have existed many abominations in this Holy See; abuses of spiritual things, excesses in the exercise of jurisdiction; all things, in short, have been changed and perverted. Nor need we wonder that corruption has descended from the head to the members, from the Supreme Pontiff to the inferior prelates.”²

Again, hear Mezeray’s description of the priest-

¹ Concilio. xxviii., Opp. vi. 296, colon. 1617.

² Rainald. Ann. Eccl., an. 1522, n. 66, tom. xx., p. 356.

hood at this period, in his "Abrégé Chronologique," &c.¹

"And certainly the extreme ignorance of the ecclesiastics, of whom many scarcely knew how to read, the scandalous lives of the pastors, almost all of them concubinarians (*concubinaires*), drunkards, and usurers, and their extreme negligence, gave him (Luther) a clear field for persuading the people that the religion which the Priests were teaching was corrupted, since their example was so bad."

I might multiply such passages, but to what purpose? The fact of the deep corruption of not only the laity, but of the Roman priesthood at this time was notorious. I will take only one more example, and I take it from the records of the Council of Trent, given in the fourteenth volume, col. 992 of the Paris 1672 edition of the Councils, by the Jesuits Labbæus and Cossart. It is from the speech of Cornelius, Bishop of Bitonto, A.D. 1545 :—

"For with what monsters of baseness, with what a cesspool of filth, with what a pestilence, are not both people and priests defiled and corrupted in the holy Church of God. I place my case in your hands, O fathers; begin with the sanctuary of God, and see *if any modesty, any chastity, any hope, or condition of good living remained*, if there were not unbridled and unconquerable licentiousness, unparalleled audacity, and incredible wickedness! Alas, 'How is the gold become dim, and its excellent colour changed!' There are two horse leeches, always crying, 'Give, give,' the one the mother, the other the nurse of all evils,—I mean covetousness and ambition, each a subtle evil, each a secret poison, a pestilence, and monster of the world. Whilst virtue and learning are neglected by those whom we ought to follow as

¹ Tom. ii., Paris, 1667 and 1517

living and breathing laws, vice and ignorance are raised in their stead, to the highest honours ; and it has at length been brought to pass, that edification has made place for destruction, example for offence, morality for corruption, the observance of the law for its contempt, strictness for laxity, mercy for impunity, piety for hypocrisy and pretence, preaching for contention and pride, and for the vilest gain ; and, to sum all in one sentence, which it is grievous to utter, the odour of life for the odour of death."

Such, then, was the character of the Roman priesthood as portrayed by themselves. The testimony therefore borne by Luther to the state of corruption to which Christians had fallen was only a generally admitted truth.

Need I, however, point out the fallacy of attributing this lamentable state of depravity amongst professing Christians to any imperfection in Christianity itself as a religious system ? Will Romanists admit that it can be reasonably attributed to the Roman system of religion ? Why not mete out the same measure of justice to Luther ? But what I have to expose is the barefaced mistranslation put before us in the above extract by the Rev. S. Baring-Gould, thereby making Luther allude to "our Evangelicals" as "belonging to Luther's disciples," who had become seven times worse by the change from Popery. I will let the reader judge for himself by placing before him a literal translation of the original ; the text I add as a footnote :—

"Moses is thus a fine teacher ; he has well expounded the first commandment, and led the people to a knowledge of themselves, and humbled the proud and arrogant spirits, besides which he upbraided them with all kinds of vices, so that they had merited anything but the promised land. If we do not abide by our beloved Gospel, we deserve to see those who profess it, our Gos-

pellers,¹ become seven times worse than they were before. For, after having become acquainted with the Gospel, we steal, lie, cheat, we eat, drink, and are drunken, and practise all sorts of iniquity. As one devil has been driven out of us, seven others, more wicked, have entered in; as may be seen at the present time with princes, noblemen, lords, citizens, and peasants, how they act, without shame and in spite of God and His threatenings.”²

¹ “*Our Gospellers*” I have thus translated “*unsere Evangelischen*.” Luther did not mean the true believers in and followers of the Evangelists, which some readers might suppose to be a name applicable to all members of the Reformed Churches, from their known attachment to the Gospel, but he applied the expression to outward professors of the Gospel. Dr. Littledale, in his recent attack on Bishop Poynet, took advantage of the equivocation to apply the term to that prelate, who has not, I believe, been charged with Antinomianism. Dr. Hey, in his Lectures, writes thus, book iv., art. vii., sect. 3, vol. iii., p. 39, Cambridge, 1822:—“It may not be clear who first used the term Antinomians, but I should conjecture that it might be Martin Luther, intending to disgrace the notions of Agricola, and make even him ashamed of them. . . . John Agricola thought he paid a proper compliment to the perfection of the Gospel (*d*) by depreciating everything that could any way stand in competition with it.”

Again, book iv., art. x., sect. 12, vol. iii., p. 207:—“They (the Antinomians) held grace to be irresistible, which tenet would imply that all human endeavours are unnecessary. Some who held tenets of this nature were (*g*) called *Gospellers* (*h*); but Antinomians were of all countries. These Antinomians opposed the Anabaptists who received Pelagianism.”

“(*d*) Antinomians, and others like in this (*sic*), were called *Gospellers* in England at the Reformation.”

“(*g*) Dr. Jortin’s Second Diss., p. 96, from Burnet. (*h*) At first, extolling Gospel by setting aside Law; afterwards, by heightening Gospel in any way.”

² “Also ist Moses ein feiner Lehrer: er hat das erste Gebet wohl ausgelegt, und die Leute zu ihrer Selbsterkenntnis geführt, und die hoffärtigen vermessenen Geister gedemüthiget, ueber das auch allerley Untugenden vorgeworfen, damit sie etwas anders, denn das verheissene Land verdienen hätten. Eben wie wir für das liebe Evangelium uns auch halten, und verdienen, dass jetzt unsere Evangelischen sieben mal ärger werden, denn sie zuvor gewesen. Denn nachdem wir das Evangelium gelernet haben, so stehlen, lügen, trügen, fressen, und

Now, had I gone no further than this single example, I should have established the truth of my entire charges against this reverend critic, that he has misrepresented Luther's doctrine and teaching, mis-translated his writings, misquoted his words, and misrepresented his text! The common courtesies of life fortunately come in to our aid, and prescribe forbearance. Indeed, I do not think any epithet I could add to designate the rev. gentleman's conduct could be more expressive than what must now be passing in the mind of my reader. I will not, therefore, weaken the effect by recording my own uppermost thoughts on this subject.

The next series I propose to notice is found in pp. 13, 14. If the charges could be substantiated by the original text, the rev. gentleman would go a great way to prove his case. He says:—

“The doctor, whilst denying moral responsibility in every other particular, goes out of his way to enforce it in one, and that is marriage. The command, ‘Be fruitful and multiply,’ he elevates into a law of universal application, and he says that that man who has not married has, on his deathbed, no hope of salvation, unless he thereupon resolves, should God lengthen his life, to take to himself a wife. He asserts that a man can no more remain chaste than he can abstain from spitting. His views expressed in public, in the pulpit, are far too gross to be reproduced here. *Suffice it to say that he lays it down as a duty incumbent on every married woman who is without children to contract a secret union with another man, and that every man whose wife is barren should have a concubine.* ‘The Bible,’

saufen wir, und trieben allerley Leute. Da ein Teufel ist bey uns, aus getrieben worden, sind ihrer nun sieben ärgere wieder in uns gehaeben; wie das jetzt um Fürsten, Herren, Edelleuten, Bürgern, und Bauern zu sehen, wile sie jetzt thun, und sich ohne alle scheu ungeachtet Gott und seine Dräung verhalten.”

says he, 'nowhere forbids man to have more wives than one,' and he pronounces concubinage to be a veritable marriage before God."

The references for this wholesale but compendious attack are copious :—

"Edit. Walch, xix. 904; xxii. 1700. Edit. Jen. (1555), ii. 196, 150, 216; iii. 99; ii. 156; iii. 139. Walch, iii. 64; viii. 1099; xxii. 1806, 1470, 1695, 2070, 1713; vi. 2750; v. 2011; xviii. 2148; iii. 412; xxii. 1726, 1763. Edit. Jen. (1555), ii. 126, 147; (1573), iii. 99; (1574), iv. 462; ii. 157, 147, 152, 156."

This mass of references to a superficial reader may give an idea that the Rev. S. Baring-Gould is deeply read in Luther's writings, and he will accept this as an exhibition of erudition; whereas, on examination, it is painfully evident that he is perfectly innocent of the originals, the whole bearing unmistakable evidence of being taken second hand. Some of the references are not applicable to the subject. That the text is not only a gross misrepresentation of Luther's meaning as well as words is what we may now reasonably expect; and such is the fact: but we are left in a state of bewilderment to discover on which of the respective references he desires us to rely in support of the various accusations in his text, a very convenient method to adopt by one who is not particular, even with passages purporting to be directly quoted.

The references to the Jena editions, 1555, 1573, 1574, are out of my power to verify, as I am unable to discover any such editions. I have written to Mr. Baring-Gould, to ask whether such editions really exist, and he considers it unnecessary to enlighten me. We have three or four other Jena editions, but the pages do not correspond. Had our reverend critic really consulted the "Walch" edition, as the copious references to that edition would indicate, he would have confined himself to that as the

most complete and perfect edition ; but, taking his quotations second hand, he is constrained to follow his leaders.

It will be observed that the rev. gentleman gives only two passages as the words of Luther, the rest is mere allegation. Having had very recently to reply to a series of similar misrepresentations perpetrated by a Dr. McCave, a Roman priest, then of Kidderminster, but who purported to quote the passages themselves, I seem to recognise in the references some of those to which attention is desired to be directed, though not quoted in the present instance. Had the passages been quoted, they would no doubt appear in the same perverted, garbled form ; as all these slanderous attacks on Luther go the rounds, and do duty over and over again. At present, I must content myself with those which are discoverable, meeting them with a general allegation that Luther is deliberately and grossly misrepresented and libelled.

With reference to the passage I have placed in italics, the rev. gentleman has been publicly challenged in the pages of the "Guardian" to produce the original text to justify the gross charges brought against Luther, but without eliciting an explanation. An accusation so abominably atrocious one would think would require the actual text and precise reference to verify it, whereas we are only left to guess that it is supposed to be taken from Luther's Sermon on Matrimony. This well-known Sermon contains a vigorous defence of the saintliness of the married state, and an exposition, on grounds of Scripture, of the laws with which God has protected it. Towards its close there is a bold and beautiful description of the divine dignity thrown by God's command over the most simple and homely duties of father and mother, when performed in faith and obedience. It contains also a passage in which, by anticipation, Luther vehemently denounces unfaithfulness in circumstances similar to those suggested in Mr. Baring-Gould's

statement, but involving far stronger temptation. Where is the honesty in such a critic?

When the rev. gentleman carries out his promise of publishing a second edition of his Lecture, with the original text at foot, we shall be able the better to appreciate his love for truth and fair dealing; and he may possibly find, by examining the *context* and the several published vindications of Luther, that he has given a too ready credence to his "Catholic" friends. It was Archdeacon Hare who made the remark that these and similar attacks come principally from that new school of Theology which has set itself to depreciate and to counteract the work of the Reformation. By our modern Romanisers, Luther, the mightiest enemy of the Romish corruptions, is naturally regarded with dislike, with aversion, almost with hatred. His intense love of truth revolts those who dally with truth, and play tricks with it, until they cease to recognise the distinction between truth and falsehood.

It is convenient to make a general charge, that Luther's statements were so gross that they were unfit for reproduction in this Lecture. If the reverend critic had been as conscientious as he affects to be modest, it would be well. He has not, however, been over nice himself; so he leaves a very large margin for the imagination of his readers to work upon. When he comes to write the life of Liguori, in his "Lives of the Saints," we are rather curious to know what he will say to the *Moral Theology* of that obscene individual.

No allowance is made for the times and customs of Luther's age, and particularly for what is written in Latin, and under special, peculiar, and exceptional occasions; such language appears familiar and gross when placed before us in our vernacular in these more outwardly refined days.¹ An *enemy* generally gives no

¹ As to the coarseness of speech imputed to Luther, not Luther but the age is to be blamed. Can we forget the filth with which Sir Thomas More bespattered Luther, speaking of him as "cacantem

quarter ; but an honourable opponent is above taking petty advantages ; he tells not only the truth, but the whole truth, and nothing but the truth :—

Nothing extenuate nor set down aught in malice.

But I challenge the rev. gentleman to produce any sentiment uttered by Luther so atrocious as the two following. The Cardinal and Archbishop Bellarmine deliberately states that it is a greater evil for a priest to marry than to commit fornication ;¹ or, as Cardinal Campegio openly pronounced before the magistrates of Strasburg : “ that it was a greater sin for priests to be married than to keep several harlots in their own houses.”² Luther, on the other hand, vehemently opposed this unnatural law, which condemns priests to perpetual celibacy, and he does so in the very places to which we are referred. The Rev. S. Baring-Gould may prefer what he is pleased to designate “ Catholic teaching,” but Luther’s morality and teaching on this head commend themselves to us as members of a Reformed Church. With regard to the “ spitting ” parallel, it was peculiarly applicable to the Romish priesthood generally. Luther frequently inveighs against the depravity engendered among them by reason of the unnatural law of compulsory celibacy ; and if the reader is curious about such matters, let him read the last two paragraphs in the chapter on “ Matrimony ” in the “ Table Talk,” headed : “ Of the fruits of the unmarried life of Priests and Nuns,” and “ A Cardinal at Rome was a Married

cacatumque ” ? If the Chancellor of England, and a saint and martyr of the Roman Church, is pardonable in the use of such abominable language, surely a minor degree of freedom may be admitted in such a hopeless heretic and reprobate as Luther is alleged to be.

¹ “ *Est majus malum sic nubere quam fornicare.*”—Bellarm. de Monach. lib. ii., cap. 34, tom. ii., col. 375, Ingold., 1601.

² “ *Quod sacerdotes mariti fiant, gravius esse peccatum quam si plurimas domi meretrices habent.*”—Cardinalis Campegius apud Sleidan, lib. iv., p. 74, Linden, 1689.

Man." The last words attributed to Luther in that chapter are, "chastity in these people (cardinals and priests) is rare venison."

All the eight references to the 22nd volume of the Walch edition (Halle, 1737-1753) are taken from the "Table Talk"; a work, I have already shown, for which Luther is in no way responsible, and which is of no authority. The passages, however, in no way bear out the rev. gentleman's accusations. I have spent several hours at the Sion College library in anxious search for a corroboration, in the places indicated, but in vain. My late Popish opponent, Dr. McCave, when he quoted as from the "Table Talk," added "*et passim*," to each reference; he had probably read as little of that work as has the Rev. S. Baring-Gould, that is,—none at all. If he had only taken half as much trouble to quote correctly as I have taken to discover his references, he would most assuredly have fallen on the following passages, found in the same chapter on "Matrimony," to which such repeated references are made. In quoting these passages, I adopt the recognised translation of Bell, and the reader will judge whether Luther taught the abominable doctrines attributed to him. I select only those places out of many others which appear to me to contradict the propositions laid down as Luther's teaching on this subject.

Luther was asked "whether a servant of the Church, for the sake of the office of preaching, may remain unmarried?"

"To which Luther answered and said, a preacher of the Gospel (being orderly thereunto called) ought, above all things, first to purify himself before he teaches others. Is he able with a good conscience to remain unmarried? Then let him so remain; but in case he cannot abstain, and live chastely, then let him marry, and take a wife; for God hath made that plaister for the same sore."

This, at least, is rather contradictory to the rev. gentleman's statements.

In reply to a "Papistical argument" against marriage of priests, Luther is reported to have said, in the same "Table Talk,"—

"I have found it by experience (though I was not very sorely tempted therewith) that the more I chastised and tormented myself, and bridled my body, the more I was tempted; and besides, although one had the gift to live chastely and unmarried, yet he ought to take a wife in contradiction to the Pope, who forbiddeth the spiritual persons to marry; they are (said Luther) tricks and snares of the Devil, whereby he goeth about to take from us the freedom of the word. We must not only speak and teach against the same, but we must also act against it; that is, we must marry, therewith to contradict and oppose the false and superstitious ordinances and decrees of the Pope."

The two following passages appear also to me to be fatal to the rev. gentleman's accusations against Luther :—

"Let the contemners and rejectors of matrimony go to the hangman, as the Antinomians and others who observe no matrimony, but live together like beasts; likewise let the Papists also have good year with their unmarried lives, and nevertheless have concubines; if they will needs condemn matrimony, then let them deal therein uprightly, and keep no concubines."

"When I am alone, then I give our Lord God thanks for the state of matrimony, when I compare the same, and hold it against the confounded, ungodly, unmarried life in Popedom, and against the abominable Italian weddings."

"The cause and foundation of matrimony are chiefly God's command, institution, and ordinance. It is a state instituted by God Himself,

visited by Christ in person, and presented with a glorious present; for God said 'It is not good that the man should be alone'; therefore the wife should be a help to the husband, to the end that the human generation may be increased, and children nurtured to God's honour, and to the profit of people and countries; also to avoid concubinage, and to keep our bodies in sanctification. Matrimony is well pleasing to God, for St. Paul compareth the Church to a spouse or bride and a bridegroom. Therefore, we ought to take heed and beware, that in marrying, we esteem neither money nor wealth, great descent, nobility nor lasciviousness."

Omitting a few references to the Jena edition, which I cannot verify, from some blunder, perhaps, in transferring the references, and the two from the Commentaries on Genesis, "Walch, iii. 64," "iii. 412," which I shall presently notice, and all those which purport to refer to this same "Table Talk," we have only left the following:—"Walch, xix. 904; viii. 1099; vi. 2750; v. 2011; xviii. 2148," of this mass of references. The references "v. 2011" and "vi. 2750," I cannot find have anything in common with the accusations. The rev. gentleman has evidently been misled, or has mistranscribed the figures. The reference, "viii. 1099," has reference to the statement that Luther "asserts that a man can no more remain chaste than he can abstain from spitting."

Luther is writing a Commentary "On 1 Cor. vii. on Virginity, Marriage, &c." Here again, as is the rev. gentleman's practice, Luther is grossly misrepresented by him; the following is a literal translation of the passage indicated:—

"It is, indeed, good for man to abide even as St. Paul; but, at the same time, the Apostle shows cause why it is not good thus to abide, and why it is better for widows to marry again. And here St. Paul has thrown all reasons for marry-

ing on a heap, and put a stop to all glorying in chastity when he says,—‘But if they cannot contain, let them marry’; that is to say,—need requires thee to marry. Thus, though virginity is highly commended, and though chastity is an excellent gift, yet very few are able to attain to that high goal, as few can contain. For although we are believers and have the spirit of God in faith, yet our natural body, according as God has created thee, either male or female, is thereby not changed, and the spirit leaves—just as in the case of any other man—to the body, its ordinary and natural functions, as eating, drinking, sleeping, digesting, spitting. No more does the spirit take away from man male or female form, limbs, seed, fruit, so that the body of a believer must be fruitful and multiply just like that of any other man, fowl, or any beast, even as God has created them.—Gen. i. 28. Therefore, as need so requires, let every man have his own wife, and every woman her own husband, unless God works a miracle by a special gift of chastity, and thus upholds his creatures.”

Luther is talking of the natural state of man, and of the natural functions of the body, and the state of people generally, and his words are not specially applicable to any peculiar individual who may have the gift of continence. The animus and intent of the rev. gentleman’s misinterpretation of Luther’s meaning are as usual apparent.

The passage indicated in vol. xviii., col. 2148, is as follows (Luther is carrying on a controversy with Erasmus on “Free Will”):—

“Hold fast that which is good and most in accordance with the Scriptures and the Holy Spirit; for there is too much of such stuff in the writings of the Fathers. To give an instance. Can anything be more carnal, unchristianlike, and blasphemous than what St. Jerome says,—that

virginity replenishes heaven, while marriage replenishes the earth; just as if the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, the Apostles, and other married people, though believers, belonged only to this world, and not to the other as well; and as if virgins among the heathen, though they never knew of Christ, had a place in Heaven. And yet such and the like passages are gleaned by the Sophisters from the writings of the Fathers."

Is there anything approaching to immorality in this? But let us hear the testimony of Erasmus (himself a priest) on the Roman priesthood, at this very period. In his annotations in Ep. i. ad Timoth. cap. 3 (a passage so often quoted), he wrote:—"If any consider the state of these times, how great a part of mankind the multitudes of monks make up, how great a part the colleges of priests and clergymen; and then consider how few out of so great a number truly preserve chastity of life, with how great scandal most of them are openly incestuous and incontinent, into what kinds of lusts innumerable of them degenerate, he will perhaps conclude it to be more convenient, that those who do not contain may have the freedom of public marriage, which they may maintain purely of chastity, without infamy, rather than they should commit unhappy and shameful lusts. The world hath now many unmarried men, but few chaste, &c." Need I advert to the notorious fact that the bishops, priests, &c., who attended at the Council of Constance, brought with them their concubines, to the great scandal of the Church?

Did Luther write truly of human nature or not? that is *the* question; and this leads me to the last of this series of references, "xix., col. 904," which is taken from Luther's "Political Writings against the Pope, Monks, Vows," &c. The passage is as follows:—

"Now, look at the miserable state of things. Most of the young women in convents are robust and healthy, and created by God to be wives and

to bear children, neither can they of their own accord keep their vows, for chastity is a gift of grace above nature, even if the latter were pure. Besides, whereas God has created man male and female, He will not permit his ordinance to be slighted, as is generally done, nor by working miracles continually suspend his laws; on the contrary, virginity is to be a rare gift. Therefore, if thou hast a daughter or a friend who has been induced to receive the vow, thou, as an honest and God-fearing man, art bound to rescue her even at the risk of all thy property and life."

All this the Rev. Baring-Gould condemns, but he takes especial care not to quote the passages themselves. Indeed, I will give him so far credit, that he never looked into the originals to which he so confidently appeals. He is no doubt quoting second, perhaps third hand; and common to all scandal, *vires acquirit eundo*. It is the proverbial snow-ball over again. The Rev. S. Baring-Gould is a bold man; we will say nothing of his truthfulness. Let the reader judge!

The two remaining passages in inverted commas corresponding, as I said, to the references "Edit. Walch, iii. 46" and "iii. 412"; are both taken from Luther's Commentaries on the book of Genesis. The first reference points to the passage, "Be fruitful and multiply." This law, it is alleged, Luther elevates into a law of universal application. Let the reader turn back to Mr. Baring-Gould's charge, and note the alleged result. I will now give a literal translation of the passage indicated, "iii. 46," with the entire context, that the reader may judge for himself. Luther is commenting on the "Six days of Creation," Gen. i. 25:—

"In the first place we have heard how God divides man into two parts. From this we may conclude that as other works of God are beyond the power of man, so is *that* also to determine

whether he shall be man or woman. The sun cannot say, I will be the moon, neither can the moon become the sun; but each must remain that which God has created it. Thus a man must remain what he is, and cannot become a woman; again, the woman must remain a woman, as she has been created, neither is it in her power to change.

“Secondly, after God had created man, he said: ‘*Be fruitful and multiply.*’ These words are a thunderbolt against Papal decrees, as conveying a permission for all priests, monks, and nuns to marry. For inasmuch as the sun is compelled to shine, and cannot abstain from it, the necessity for so doing being implanted in its nature by God’s word and law, so is it likewise implanted in human nature, whether male or female, that it is its destination to be fruitful. Although God has permitted exceptions in cases where individuals are physically incapacitated, or are endowed with high mental gifts, yet, as a rule, nature will have her course, and it is not in the power of man to restrain her. I have therefore no right to forbid what it is impossible to suppress. No vows against it are valid, for it is once for all decreed, that God’s work cannot be interfered with.

“What if the sun made a vow not to shine any more? It would be much the same as if you vowed not to be fruitful, not to beget or to bear children. Vow or not, you cannot do otherwise than according as God has created you; whether you will or not, you must be obedient to nature, or it will take another course, which leads to indescribable misery; and this must be the case when an attempt is made to impede God’s work. You might as well vow not to be a human being, whereas you cannot help being one, and must trample your vow under foot.

“Thus you see that vows and Papal decrees are in direct opposition to the ordinances and institutions of God; therefore there is hardly a greater abomination on earth than what is called *Celibacy*,—that is, Ecclesiastical chastity. If you will escape from the abomination, trample under foot the vow, and, if you have pledged yourself to it, the infamous state likewise; but rather take heed that you do not get into it. Have you taken the vow, know that it is neither valid nor binding; for, how can you dispose of what is not your own, or what is not in your power either to acquire or retain? It is ordained by God that you should enter the married state; there is no free will in the matter. Just as little as you can add one cubit, nay one finger-breadth, to your stature (as Christ says, Matt. vi. 27), so little can you deprive flesh and blood of their nature and the power of multiplying implanted in them by the Creator.

“I will however by no means detract from the exalted virtue of virginity; for the Almighty has reserved power to Himself to work upon nature, a power we must be content to leave in his hands. But in cases where we see that He does not exercise this supernatural power, nature must be left to follow the course ordained by the Creator, viz., to enter the married state. If Adam had not fallen, neither man nor woman would have been unfruitful; not that this is a command, but an implantation into nature, and must therefore have its unforbidden and unrestrained course. But now God has interposed, and, in some cases, where physical incapacity exists, He has conferred such high gifts, that they are enabled to lead a life of chastity.—Matt. xix. 11.”

Bearing in mind what Luther had in view, and the vices of the *celibate* system he had to expose, the language could not be very chaste. We must look at

the intention of the writer as well as the subject he had in hand, and the times in which he wrote. It was Tom Paine, as also his compeer Cobbett, who threatened to shock all our sensitive feelings by reading select passages from the Bible. It is just that process adopted by the rev. gentleman with Luther's writings, sinking entirely the great moral lessons he was teaching, not to fashionable Sunday audiences of the present day, but to a class of a very different age, and under very different circumstances.

The other passage is :—"The Bible nowhere forbids man to have more wives than one." That is literally true, but what is the inference sought to be conveyed? That Luther advocated under our Christian dispensation Polygamy! The reader must bear in mind that, in the days of Luther and previously to the decrees of the Trent Council, declaring that marriage was a Sacrament, marriage was a civil contract in the Roman Church.

The reference is "Walch, vol. iii., col. 412." Luther is here commenting on the 16th chapter of Genesis, 1-16. The following is a literal translation of the original, with the context of the passage brought as a charge against Luther :—

"I say now in conclusion : Where I have to deal, *not with Christians, but with heathenish-minded persons*, I would that the Law of Moses were still binding with regard to divorce, namely, that a man might put away his wife and take another. Christ has indeed done away with this law ; he says, however, in Matt. xix. 8-9 :— 'Moses, because of the hardness of your hearts, suffered you to put away your wives, but from the beginning it was not so.' 'I say unto you, whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery.' Likewise Paul to the Corinthians :— 'And unto the married I command, yet not I, but the Lord, let not the wife depart from her

husband: but, and if she depart, let her remain unmarried, or be reconciled to her husband: and let not the husband put away his wife.' Those, however, who do not hear Christ, would do better to follow the Law of Moses, rather than suffer such a state of things that man and wife had not an hour's peace together. *But in such cases they must be told that they have ceased to be Christians, and are under the dominion of heathenism. If you profess to be a Christian, you dare not be divorced.*¹

"A man is, however, not forbidden to have more than one wife. I would not, even at the present time, forbid it, but would not advise it; this, at all events, holds good, that he must not put away his wife, but cleave unto her. The foregoing passages do not enter upon the subject, and I would not have broached it, but for the possibility of a discussion arising, when an answer should be ready; and likewise that the men of old should not be condemned as having acted unbecomingly, as the Manicheans asserted.

"We have now seen the deep humility of the holy mother Sarah, in renouncing honour and children, and in giving up the seed and the blessing, promised to Abraham, to another woman. Moses says but little respecting this holy woman, but the example sufficiently proves that she was animated by the right spirit, and highly favoured; on that account she is commended in various portions of sacred writ. She did not exalt, but humbled herself, and was therefore exalted."

As a fact, "the Bible does nowhere forbid a man to have more wives than one." Luther, if referring to that as a literal fact, was only stating what was true. We are told that a "Bishop must be the husband of

¹ Why was this essential passage suppressed?

"Aber darbey müsste man ihnen sagen, dass sie nimmer Christen wären, sondern im heydnischen Regimente. Best du aber ein Christe, must due dich nicht sheiden."

one wife," but our Ritualists will tell us that this means that a bishop, once a widower, must not marry again, and thus be the husband of only one wife; and so the Church by ancient custom has taught and decreed. Nor did Luther here mean that he did not forbid and would not advise polygamy, for we shall presently see that he directly opposed polygamy in the very treatise to which the Rev. Baring-Gould refers us. Luther's teaching on marriage was pure and holy compared to the teaching of the Roman Church at that day. Luther, while declaring Henry VIII. was legally divorced from his first wife Catherine, is said to have maintained, and no doubt did so, that as long as she was alive he could not legally marry again;¹ while the Pope of Rome actually gave his consent in writing, permitting Henry to marry again (Catherine being alive), even though that person were within the prohibited degrees of affinity,² and to the English Ambassador Cassalis, the Pope actually gave his consent that the King might have two wives at once.³ I merely mention these historical facts to note the lax views in those days, held even by the Roman Church on marriage and its duties.

However, we are not left in doubt as to Luther's views on polygamy. He treats of this subject very decisively in these same Commentaries upon the Book of Genesis. He takes for an example, the incident of Sarah giving Hagar to Abraham to be his wife, and he thus writes:—

"Moreover, from this act *we are not to set up an example*, as though it were allowable for us to do the same thing. For the circumstances are to

¹ See "Colloquia Mensalia," Bell's Second Edit., London, 1791, p. 398.

² See Dr. Lingard's "History of England," vol. vi., pp. 128–9, edit. 1848.

³ "Superioribus diebus, Pontifex secreto, veluti rem quam magni fecerit, mihi proposuit conditionem hujusmodi, concedi posse vestræ majestati ut duas uxores habeas."—Lord Herbert's "Life and Reign of Henry VIII.," p. 130, London, 1683.

be considered. No promise of a seed has been made to us, such as was made to Abraham; and however barren your marriage may be, no danger will arise from thence, albeit God will that your offspring should perish; whereas Abraham not only had the promise of a seed, but it was plain that Sarah was barren. These circumstances do not apply to your case; therefore this singular act of this married couple is by no means to be strained into an example, especially under the New Testament. For the Old Testament permitted polygamy, even for the sake of children; and there is a law of Moses (Deut. xxii. 29), that if a man has corrupted a maid, he shall retain her as his wife. But these ceremonies or legal ordinances have ceased; and the case of Abraham is very different from that mentioned by Moses."

This important passage will be found in Luther's Commentary on Genesis vi. 3.¹ And the very same principle is inculcated in his Commentary on Gen. xxx. 1, p. 446 b. 447 a, of the same edition as above, with reference to Jacob's four wives:—

"A man must not say Jacob did this, therefore, I too may do it. . . . But remember, then, that thou must abide by this rule (1 Cor. vii. 2): 'Let each man have his wife.' Therefore, these things are recorded, not as examples, but that we should abstain from imitating the example. We may admire, but not imitate, them. For there are some things which we may imitate, others which we may admire. Hope, believe, call upon God—like Leah,—but do not marry four wives, like Jacob. For this belongs solely to Jacob, and to those whom God willed to be exempted from the general rule. Let us exercise ourselves in the faith, the patience, the hope, set before us in the Patriarchs; and let us abstain from those heroic examples."

¹ And see tom. vi., Wittenb. edit., 1555, p. 194.

These passages are quoted by Mr. Hare, in his "Vindication of Luther," where I first met with them, and which the rev. gentleman must have seen, but suppresses.

Now, I ask any candid, honest, right-thinking, and truthful man, to compare the Rev. S. Baring-Gould's statements with the real doctrine and sentiments thus clearly and emphatically enunciated by Luther,—not once, but several times; and let him draw his own conclusion as to what amount of reliance is to be placed on any single charge brought by him against Luther.

I cannot, however, dismiss this accusation without further references as to Luther's teaching on this head. It is often brought against Luther that he gave his sanction to Philip, the Landgrave of Hesse, to become a bigamist.¹ Bucer, the messenger to Luther from the Landgrave to get his opinion on the subject, published a pamphlet in defence of polygamy under the assumed name of "Hulderic Neobulus," after the double marriage of the Landgrave became notorious. Luther was so incensed that he intended to answer it, but was dissuaded from doing so. But he nevertheless expressed his opinion of Bucer's work in unmistakable terms. They are alluded to in Melancthon's second letter to the Landgrave, and quoted by Seckendorf.² Luther wrote:—

"He who desires my judgment upon this book, let him hear. Thus says Dr. Martin Luther on the book of Neobulus. He who follows this rogue and book, and thereupon takes more than one wife, and means that this should be a matter of right, may the devil bless his bath in the bottom of hell! Amen. This, God be praised! I well know how to maintain; and though it snowed pure Neobulos, Neobulos, Hulderics, along with

¹ This charge has been triumphantly answered by Hare, see his "Vindication of Luther," 1855, pp. 236, *et seqq.* See Part II., vi.

² Lib. iii., p. 281, Leips., 1649.

pure devils a whole year through,¹ people shall not make me a right out of this. This I will prevent. Much less shall they make me a right, that a man may separate himself from his wife rightfully, when she has not already separated herself by open adultery, which this rogue would also like to teach."

While one cannot admire, as in good taste, the language of Luther, the sentiment is unmistakable, and does not exactly justify the Lecturer's estimate of Luther's opinions on bigamy.

And once again. The most complete edition of Luther's works is that edited by J. G. Walch, so repeatedly quoted by the rev. Lecturer. Walch gives a fragment of Luther's projected reply to Neobulus,² wherein he says, in answer to an argument drawn from the example of the patriarchs and of the Jewish kings: "We have already shown in a number of books that the law of Moses does not concern us, and is no longer law, and that we are not to look at the examples in the history of the saints, much less of the kings, but at God's commandments, and at their faith." Compare these passages with the rev. gentleman's accusations, and let us ask for the justification of these charges. If the "Table Talk" is to be admitted, we have an express opinion given by Luther as to the two only causes of separation of married persons:—

"What separateth matrimony? There are two causes of divorcement: First adultery; then (said Luther) Christians ought to labour and use diligent persuasions, that those married people may be re-united again, and withal, sharply to reprove

¹ The reader will not fail to observe the extravagant expression here made use of. See p. 102, *ante*.

² Ed. Walch, vol. xxi, 1577–1585. Luther proceeds to give divers reasons in proof that, even among the Jews, polygamy was never sanctioned as a general institution, but was merely a dispensation allowed in certain cases under peculiar circumstances.—See Hare, as above, p. 244.

the guilty person, and to read a sound text unto the same. The second cause is, when one runneth from the other, and cometh again, and afterwards runneth away again. Such companions have commonly their mates in other places, who richly deserve to be punished."¹

Such being undoubtedly Luther's teaching on the subject of marriage, and its duties and obligations, which the rev. gentleman might have ascertained had he been so minded, we may reasonably look with suspicion on the following extract in page 12 of his Lecture, purporting to be taken by him from the eighth volume of the Walch edition of Luther's works, col. 1127 :—

“‘You owe nothing to God,’ says Dr. Martin Luther, ‘nothing except to believe and confess Him. In everything else He leaves you perfect liberty to do exactly what you like, without any peril for your conscience even ; for He is quite indifferent to it : you may abandon your wife, or desert your husband, or not keep any engagement you have contracted, for what concern is it to God whether you do these things or not ?’³⁰ Sin then ceases to be sin.”

Luther is commenting on the 7th chapter of Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians, 22nd and 24th verses.

He dwells on Paul's declaration of Christian liberty, as to all external things (*ausserliche dinge*) before God, and that a Christian may use, adopt, or leave them, at his own discretion, so far as concerns himself and God, because there is a distance placed between us and God. For we are not rendering service to God by remaining unmarried, a servant or freeman, by doing one thing or another, by eating this or that. Nor do we anger or sin against God if we take to one or abandon the other. In fact, we are not debtors to

¹ Colloquia Mensalia, “On Matrimony,” cap. 49, p. 900 ; Bell's Second Edit., 1791.

God in these things, but to believe and confess Him. In everything else He leaves us to act with entire freedom in these things without danger to our conscience. Luther continues, still commenting on Paul's expression "with God," to add that God *does not for His own sake heed* (*dass er nichts darnach fragte seinethalben*), whether you leave your wife, or the wife separates from the husband, or keep no contract; for what does it matter to Him personally whether we do this or not? But since we are indebted to our neighbour in these things, God will not take away our free will, but will leave that to our neighbour to judge. For although God *for His own sake* (*obwol Gott seinethalben desselben nicht achtet*) does not regard such things, He does do so on account of our neighbour. This is (says Luther) what Paul means by the expression "with God." As if he would say, "with man or with your neighbour I do not give you free will; then I will not take away that liberty until he himself makes you free." Before God, he says, you have free will to hold or give up these external things. Luther then continues to insist on the caution that spiritual freedom is only bestowed on a man in respect of that which is his own, and not in respect of that which is his neighbour's. In other words, Luther draws a broad distinction between our duty towards God and our duty towards our neighbour, and urges that God demands the fulfilment of the latter duty, not for His own behoof, but for our neighbour's behoof; whereas from Mr. Baring-Gould's quotation he would be understood to teach that God does not demand the fulfilment of our duty to our neighbour at all. It is evident from such an example that it is possible for Mr. Gould to quote Luther's own words, and yet by divorcing them from the context, and by the aid of a slight twist in the translation, to convey a flagrant misrepresentation of their meaning.

Luther's interpretation of Paul's expression "with God," may or may not meet Mr. Baring-Gould's views,

but he has gone far beyond Luther's text, by declaring that Luther said that God was quite indifferent whether we abandon wife or husband, or whether we keep an engagement or not, or that sin ceases to be sin.

If we had not free liberty to act, there would be no merit even in good works. Why we are allowed to do evil and exist, is a mystery, but still we are not permitted to say that God is the author of evil. In His divine wisdom He has given us free will, and if we place ourselves under the dominion of sin and are punished, it is our own act. Our duty towards God is to believe in him; and we have a duty towards our neighbour, and that is to do to him as we would wish he would do to us. We have no free will here, *but an active duty*, and this is all Luther points to. But it is manifestly unfair to take an isolated passage and give it a false interpretation.

The only other extract which I propose to quote ought and must for ever brand the Rev. S. Baring-Gould (even if there were none other of the same cast in the Pamphlet now under review) as utterly and hopelessly untrustworthy as a witness of the truth, and as a reckless calumniator of the great Reformer, Martin Luther. This is strong language, but not stronger than the position deserves.

Mr. Baring-Gould thus deliberately writes in page 20 :—

“That awful prayer contained in one of Luther's letters, ‘Oh, Lord God of Heaven, may we be steeped in all kinds of obscenities, in all abominations of sin, rather than fall back into the blindness of darkness,’⁷²—*i.e.*, of Popery,—‘and deliver us from a spirit of compunction,’ was heard and answered.”

“Was heard and answered !” Where is the evidence of this? This malicious and wicked libel could not be surpassed by a Campian or a Cobbett.

If the reader thinks I have here used stronger language than the circumstance justifies, let him first

prove that the alleged prayer was heard and answered, and that, therefore, Luther was in fact steeped in all obscenities and abominations of sin. The Gentlemen of the Ritualistic school are not very particular in their mode of enforcing their opinion. Dr. Littledale in the "Church Review," 4th October, 1873, writes of the highest dignitary of the Roman Church in England:—

"Three men in the Roman Episcopate stand out pre-eminently as having forced on the dogma [of infallibility]. Of one of them I can say, from having tracked him for many years, that he never deviates into truth even by accident. Any statement coming from his mouth or pen is certain to be false in the exact ratio of the solemnity of his assertion."

The reference "72" is "Epp. ed. Aurifaber, ii., 106."

Though tolerably familiar with the impostures of the Latin Church, and its habitual practice of fabrication and falsification of documents, never do I recollect to have seen comprised in so few lines as the above, so disgraceful a combination of the dishonourable practices of suppression, interpolation, equivocation and distortion of the author's meaning.

A single glance at the original passage and its context suffices to expose the intense dishonesty of the quotation. In a letter to Hartmann, of Cronburg, Luther had been deploring some acts of dishonour lately done to God's Word; lamenting more especially the slight esteem in which it had been held at the recent Diet at Worms. In the sentence preceding the pretended quotation, Luther expresses his fear lest the Deity, in righteous retribution, should withhold the Divine word altogether, and visit Germany with such a judicial blindness and hardness of heart under which the Jews were suffering with regard to the Messiah, as made him tremble to think of. Then he proceeds to exclaim:—and I entreat the reader to compare Mr. Baring-Gould's unpardonable mistrans-

lation with what really proceeded from the pen of Luther:—

“O Lord God, Heavenly Father, we beseech Thee, by thine inexhaustible goodness, vouchsafe, *if sin we must*, that rather being immersed in whatsoever sink of sinfulness, we may stumble greatly therein; but withhold us at all events from blindness and foolishness, and a spirit of attrition, in Him, whom thou hast appointed Lord over Guilt and innocence,¹ whom if we confess and keep ever before our eyes, no need have we to fear that either the sinfulness of sin, or the power of death, or the terrors of hell, can hurt us.”²

¹ In p. 104, he designates Christ by the same title, “*Dominum peccati juxta ac innocentiae.*”

² The original passage with the context is as follows:—

“Ad hunc quidem modum Iudæis evenisse videmus, qui cum Filium Dei impio & crudeli iudicio condemnassent, ea post percussi sunt cæcitate & amentia, ut etiamnum securissimè Messiam suum expectantes Christum summa contumelia adficiendi finem facere nesciât. Completa est itaq; Scriptura Psal. 108. ‘Et noluit benedictionem, & elongabitur ab eo.’ Non aliter Papistis quoq; nostris accidisse verisimile est qui cum Vormaciæ Christum odio prosequi, & probrosis appellationibus dehonestare decrevissent, factum est, ut eius nec calumniandi nec odio prosequendi finem ullum invenire queant. Quorum vesana & virulenta blasphemia nullis aut monitis aut obsecrationibus est sanabilis, imò subinde ingravescente morbo fit deterior.

“Rectissima sunt iudicia tua, cœlestis Pater, & hoc est vile, nisi fallor, agitari furiis & intemperiebus. Testis est mihi Deus, ea animi solitudine capto, quod nisi dies novissimus huius fabulæ ludum inturbaverit, periculū esse brevi futurum, ut Deus Verbo suo sublato Germaniā ea sit flagellaturus cæcitate, & cordis duricia, quam mihi saltem animo reputanti terribilis horror ossa concutit. [Domine Deus, pater cœlestis, obsecramus te pro tua inexhausta bonitate, dignare nos potius nulla non peccatorū sentina immersos labi multifarium, si peccandum nobis est; tantum à cæcitate & amentia, à compunctionis spiritu nos tutos retine, in eo, quem & peccatorum & innocentiae Dominum constituisti, quem si confitebimur in oculis semper circumlatum, nihil est quod vereamur, aut peccatorum iniustitiam, aut mortis potentiam, aut inferorum terrorem nobis obesse posse.]”—Ep. Scripta anno [MD] XXII., Domino Hartmanno; J. Aurifaber, vol. ii., fol. 106, Berliui, 1579.

Were ever two things so diametrically opposite as Luther's actual prayer and Mr. Baring-Gould's perversion of it? The one utters the voice of humble piety, the other breathes the spirit of outrageous blasphemy. The one assumes a hypothetical falling away from grace ("and if we say that we have no sin we deceive ourselves"), the other prays for a condition of positive and loathsome sin; the one entreats that the means of recovery may remain open, the other prays for freedom to sin on without compunction. But, it may well be asked, by what perverse process of Jesuitical sophistry could such a transformation be effected? By very simple, but not very honest means. First, by wilful suppression—omitting the words, "*If sin we must.*" Secondly, by an unauthorised addition, introducing "obscenity" where it has no place in the original. Thirdly, by deliberate misconstruction, making Luther refer to *Popery*, when his allusion was to the fruits of a famine of God's Word. Fourthly, by equivocation; representing Luther as praying against compunction in sinning, when he really prayed against that treacherous and delusive ground of remission of sin known in the Roman Church indifferently by the name *Compunction* or *Attrition*. If Mr. Baring-Gould is ignorant of theological terminology, why does he presume to write on a theological subject? If he *is* acquainted with it, his dishonest prevarication disqualifies him for writing on any subject whatever. It is possible that Mr. Baring-Gould is as innocent of the meaning of "compunction" in the Roman Church as he has shown himself to be of "justification" in his own, and that he knows no more of the doctrines of the community he is ready to desert to, than of those he is willing to betray. But where were Mr. Baring-Gould's brains when, with the original before him, he made Luther pray in the same breath to be delivered from blindness, and foolishness, "and compunction"? Blindness and foolishness are to be earnestly deprecated; compunction for sin to be as

studiously cultivated. To combine under the same category qualities so widely dissonant could only be the result of the blind infatuation of a mind immersed so intently in its disgraceful task of garbling, as to be unconscious of the inconsistencies into which it was being betrayed.

Hear the just law, the judgment of the skies:
He that hates truth shall be the dupe of lies;
And he that *will* be cheated to the last,
Delusions strong as hell shall hold him fast.

The rev. gentleman evinces an evident yearning towards a church which has been signalised as being given over to a strong delusion to believe a lie (2 Thess. ii. 11); but for a lie to be believed, it is necessary that there should be those who "love and make" a lie (Rev. xxii. 25); and after the above statement of plain and simple facts, it may be left to Mr. Baring-Gould's own conscience to decide *who* are chargeable with the more aggravated fault,—they who originally manufactured the adulterated coin of falsehood, or the unconscious victims who are betrayed into first accepting and then circulating the counterfeit as true.

I might have added above, what great reason had Luther to pray against a spirit of attrition, for they who had fallen into a state of blindness and foolishness could only be rescued from it by a sincere repentance; and if they substituted for it the Attrition so generally resorted to in the Roman Church, it was merely "daubing the wall with untempered mortar," saying "Peace, peace, where there was no peace," and fatally endangering their salvation.

There is a passage in Apuleius, which exhibits in striking colours the reckless system of garbling adopted by Mr. Baring-Gould as his own congenial and special occupation. Apuleius describes so forcibly the iniquity of quoting detached scraps and fragments of an author, with the perfidious accessories of sup-

pression, interpolation, and misconstruction, that I cannot resist the inclination to extract it. It would almost seem to have been written in prophetic anticipation of Mr. Baring-Gould's treatise. "Many passages," he says, "when produced apart from their context, appear to be open to calumnious attacks. There is no person whose writings may not be insidiously assailed, if a sentence is detached from what preceded, and deprived of its natural commencement, if clauses inserted in their regular order are suppressed at pleasure, if what is expressed in an ironical spirit is read in the tone of an assertion rather than as a rebuke."¹ Fortunately, Apuleius, being alive, was able to protect himself; Luther, being dead, is at the mercy of any ungenerous opponent. As an historical character, Luther, no doubt, has to abide the judgment of posterity; but that judgment should be exercised with candour, impartiality, and truth, not with prejudice, bigotry, and falsehood.

If, instead of a brief extract, mutilated with the subtle ingenuity of a practised hand, Mr. Baring-Gould had read any considerable portion of the entire volume he purports to quote from, he could scarcely have risen from the perusal without a very different estimate of Luther's character. With the slightest tincture of equitable and even-handed criticism, the perusal of these Letters could not have failed to impress him with admiration for Luther's sincere and earnest piety, his manly firmness and undaunted courage in every circumstance of difficulty and danger, his hopeful but sober reliance on Divine providence, his kindly and affectionate feelings towards his friends, his universal conscientiousness and unimpeachable integrity.

¹ "Multa sunt quæ sola prolata calumniæ possunt videri obnoxia. Cujavis oratio insinulari potest, si ea quæ ex prioribus nexa sunt principio defraudentur, si quædam ex ordine scriptorum ad libidinem supprimantur, si quæ simulationis causa dicta sunt, adseverantis pronuntiatione quam exprobandis legantur."—"Apolog," p. 326.

But alas! Mr. Baring-Gould's critical vision seems to be of a kind which can plainly discern the spots in the sun, but is totally blind to its brightness. In dealing with the reputation of Luther, he affords a vivid illustration of the character portrayed by Calvin, in his comment on James i. 24 :—

“ He glories in tearing to pieces another man's reputation, under the nominal pretext, indeed, of zeal, but really from an unbridled appetite for calumny.”¹

Having selected and examined the passages containing the most gross and startling accusations against Luther, I confidently submit to the judgment of the reader whether I have not made good my charges against the Rev. S. Baring-Gould of misrepresenting the teaching of the Church, as also the teaching of Luther on the doctrine of Justification by Faith, and of misquoting, mistranslating, and misinterpreting Luther's text. If I have established these points to the satisfaction of my readers, some practical reflections will naturally suggest themselves.

First, the rev. gentleman comes before us as a *critic* of the writings of Luther, and he professes to give us a truthful representation of Luther's teaching on the great, fundamental, and crucial Christian doctrine, namely, Justification by Faith in our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and the utter inefficacy of works as a justifying cause. Has the rev. gentleman been a faithful and true witness? I assert that he has been a false witness against the great German Reformer. I believe the rev. gentleman has read Archdeacon Hare's “Vindication of Luther.” If he has not, let him do so; he will there learn a very practical lesson conveyed in a letter written from Niebuhr to a student of philology, and I earnestly

¹ “*Aliorum famam lacerando se jactabit, zeli quidem prætextu, sed obtrectandi libidine.*”

entreat him to apply to himself the golden rule thus laid down :—

“Above all things in every branch of literature and science, ought we so to preserve our truth as pure, as utterly to shun all false show,—*so as not to assert anything, however slight, for certain, of which we are not thoroughly convinced,—so as to take the pains when we are expressing a conjecture, to make the degree of our belief apparent.* If we do not, where is it possible ourselves to point out defects which we perceive, and which others are not likely to discover? or when we lay down our pen we cannot say in the presence of God: ‘I have written nothing knowingly *which, after a severe examination, I do not believe to be true; in nothing have I deceived my readers, either with regard to myself or others; nor have I set my most odious adversary in any other light than I would answer for at my last hour.*’ If we cannot do this, learning and literature make us unprincipled and depraved.”

Let the rev. gentleman lay this to heart, and ask himself, whether he has in his attacks on Luther acted up to this rule. The rev. gentleman has informed me by letter, that in a future edition of his Lectures he intends to add the original text of each passage quoted. We have seen that that is not sufficient; let him set forth in each case the context also, so that an unprejudiced reader may draw his own conclusions from sufficient premises, unfettered and unprejudiced by an affectation of accuracy in his footnotes, while Luther’s text itself undergoes at one time an expurgatory, at another an alloying, and at another a refining process, which tend further to mislead. A correct translation of Luther’s text in scarcely a single instance is given by Mr. Baring-Gould.

The second suggestion that forces itself on our attention is, that the rev. gentleman has undertaken the office of critic of the writings of Luther, while

there is every indication that he has never studied his writings, but relied on second-hand information, derived exclusively from Papistical sources.

The third idea that must present itself to the reader is: Is the Rev. S. Baring-Gould singular or original in his attacks and strictures on Luther's writings and private character? If he is not singular, have previous attacks been replied to? Numerous and most virulent attacks have been published against Luther, and I do not see that the rev. lecturer has stated anything new on the subject, or done otherwise than taken the whole of his matter second hand, principally from Papists,—exhibiting, however, the touch of a skilled manipulator; and the result given is like the touch to the kaleidoscope, the same fragments are there, but in a new combination. We have the replies to such attacks, among numerous others, of Hengstenberg, and Marheineke, Nitzsch, and Baur, and of our own Arch-deacon Hare. Was it honest and fair dealing, as between man and man, to re-assert fallacies long since exploded, or misquote and misrepresent a writer, when such misquotations and misrepresentations have been oft-times exposed? Is it fair and honest dealing to attack and abuse a man long since dead, and, therefore, unable to vindicate himself, and to suppress all reference or mention of those who have vindicated Luther's character and writings from these same gross and slanderous charges? Is it not a gross act of injustice, to say the least of it, to reiterate such charges without first proving that those who had undertaken a vindication of Luther had failed in their efforts? The outworks of a citadel must first be destroyed before we can make the grand assault. It is simply childish to reiterate charges and give the repeated "Vindications" the silent "go by." To read the Rev. S. Baring-Gould's Lecture, one would suppose that a "Vindication" had never existed. He knows, however, better; and it is a dishonest act to slander the dead without first defeating those who had already taken the field,

and without first, in fact, replying to the several vindications of Luther that had gone before.

Fourthly, the reader will readily see that the main object of the Lecturer is, to attack the Reformation itself, through the alleged founder of it.

We have seen how every available opportunity is seized, of making it appear that even Luther admitted that morality and religion had disappeared with the introduction of his new theories; while people were under "Popery" moral and religious. Indeed, on the authority of a work cited under the following title, "Hist. Diplom. Magazin., iii. 223," whatever that may be, we are told that crime after the Reformation was as 191 or even 272 to 41. The following is the calculation presented to us by the Rev. S. Baring-Gould in page 33 of his Lecture:—

"Since the preaching of the Gospel,—by Gospel must always be understood in these writers Luther's dogma of justification,—all kinds of turpitudes and iniquities have been committed, says Link, of Nüremberg, a testimony borne out by the statistics of crime in that city. The following is a list of the number of persons condemned to death before and after the Reformation of Luther:—

	Before Reformation.		After Reformation.	
	15th Century.	16th Century.	17th Century.	
For incest	1	12	9	
Theft.....	19	81	128	
Highway robbery	5	21	35	
Murder.....	12	52	45	
Infanticide	0	6	33	
Unnatural crimes	2	11	6	
Coining.....	2	8	6	
	41	191	262	"

We are, however, not informed of the relative proportion of the members of the reformed and unreformed, a very important element, as modern

statistics have proved, in these calculations of their relative morality and criminality. Nor is any account taken of the great increase in the population during the two succeeding centuries; nor the more strict administration of justice in punishing crime. The Roman Penitentiary Tax Tables, which were then in full force, gives us some information of the facilities given for the absolution of every species of crime for money payments.¹

If the Reformation has effected so much evil where it has taken place, how is it then to be accounted for that morality is at its very lowest where the Reformation has not been accepted? The following statistics are taken from a most reliable source,—*L'amico di casa, Almanacco Popolare illustrato, Anno 11, 1864*. Published in Turin. *Stamperia dell' unione Tipographica editrice*:—

BIRTHS.

	Legitimate.	Illegitimate.
London	75,097	3,207
Paris	19,921	9,707
Brussels	3,448	1,833
Monaco	1,854	1,762
Vienna	8,821	10,360
Rome	1,215	3,160

MURDERERS.

England produces 1 in every	178,000
Holland " "	163,000
Prussia " "	100,000
Austria " "	77,000
Spain " "	4,113
Naples " "	2,750
Roman States "	750

It will be here seen that where Popery reigns most supreme, vice and immorality flourish in proportion.

¹ See Dr. Gibbing's reprint and "History of the admittedly genuine editions of the Tax-tables," Dublin, 1872; and see "The Prices of Sin in the Church of Rome," by A. H. Guinness, M.A., Protestant Alliance, 9, Strand, London.

It is now a clearly-established fact that in every country in Europe the members of the Roman Church contribute to the criminal statistics numbers far beyond their fair proportion. In England and Ireland the proportion of Roman Catholic criminals in excess of Protestants is most conspicuous.¹

Lastly, Luther died in 1546, more than three centuries now past. The reverend gentleman admits that such soul-destroying, Satanic doctrines as imputed to Luther are not now taught or practised by Luther's followers. To what end, for what object, has the Rev. S. Baring-Gould at this late period revived these slanderous attacks? This question also must force itself on the reader; I leave him to draw his own conclusion. God in His wise providence has selected His own instruments to do His work, and He has also chosen His own time. When Luther wrote and preached, the Church was in its zenith of corruption. The immorality, degradation, and superstition of the people were in keeping,—that is, developed in proportion to the assumption of the power and tyranny of the Priesthood. Luther broke the spell which kept the Church in bondage; he relieved us from the yoke of the Papacy, from Priest-rule and Priest-craft, which withered before his crushing denunciations. The God of this earth was trampled under foot, and the iniquity of the Man of Sin was revealed. But through LUTHER light, knowledge, and truth were again permitted to shine forth. Redemption through Christ was again preached, as also our Justification through His grace, as our true and only acceptance before God; and in proportion was revealed the utter inability of man of himself to reach the standard of perfection required by

¹ The reader interested in such matters will find a great deal of useful information, compiled from Government published statistics, in Mr. A. H. Guinness's pamphlet, "The Prices of Sins of the Church of Rome," published by the Protestant Alliance, 9, Strand, London, a short and well-arranged compilation of facts and documents.

the law. Armed with the spirit and power of truth, LUTHER preached this doctrine of JUSTIFICATION BY FAITH ALONE, and at once the great fabric and stronghold of idolatry and superstition, and the power and magic of the Priesthood were shivered into dust; and out of it arose the pure and Evangelical Church of the Reformation. Luther's thundering truths reverberated from shore to shore, and the echoes were caught up by our CRANMER, RIDLEY, LATIMER, HOOPER, BRADFORD, and the noble army of Martyrs, who sealed the truth with their blood; and with that blood the foundation of our Reformed Church in England was baptised and consecrated.

To LUTHER, under the direction of Providence, we are indebted for the glorious REFORMATION. Priest-rule, Priest-craft, and Sacerdotal Sacramentalism were then doomed. The Ritualistic Priests of the present day lament the loss. Why? Because the rule of Priests over the consciences of the people, Priest-craft, and the same Sacramental System, wholly unknown to the Apostles and unrevealed in the Gospel of Christ, are for ever crushed. Their object in decrying the Reformation and Reformers is to strive to place the Priest as the instrument and channel of grace, by the administration of his Sacerdotal functions. This Sacerdotal Sacramentalism is impossible if the doctrine of Justification by Faith in Christ be established. Luther's teaching of Justification, we are told, supplanted—made void—the Sacramental System. Here then we have Mr. Baring-Gould's own solution of the question, why these Ritualistic Priests are so bitter against Luther and our Reformers:—

Othello's occupation's gone !

Reader! believe me, the time will shortly come when the battle of the Reformation is to be fought again. Whether we, as Laymen, are to prostrate ourselves at the foot of the Priest, make him and his Sacramental System the channel of grace and the ground of our

hope of salvation, or whether we are to look to CHRIST, and Him alone, as the "author and finisher of our faith," our "all in all," *that* will be the question in issue. We are soldiers of Christ, and not of the Priest. Let us therefore lay hold of the great and glorious truth which sanctified the teaching of the Great Reformer, that through Christ alone we are freed from the law and its curse, and having thus learned the glad tidings of Salvation through the same CHRIST JESUS, LET US STAND FAST IN THE LIBERTY WHEREWITH CHRIST HATH MADE US FREE, AND BE NOT ENTANGLED AGAIN WITH THE YOKE OF BONDAGE.

END OF PART I.

PREFACE TO PART II.

. . . . Slander lives upon succession,
For ever housed where once it gets possession.—

Comedy of Errors.

IN this second part I have examined various other charges of a popular kind brought against LUTHER, which have not been touched upon by the Rev. S. Baring-Gould.

They are considered under the following heads :—

- I.—Luther's alleged Blasphemy against God.
- II.—Luther's alleged Blasphemy against the Holy Scriptures.
- III.—Luther's alleged Contempt of the Fathers.
- IV.—Luther's alleged Conference with the Devil.
- V.—Luther's Marriage with a Nun.
- VI.—Luther's alleged Sanction for the Landgrave of Hesse to commit Bigamy.
- VII.—Luther as an alleged Obscene Writer.
- VIII.—Luther as an alleged Murderer.
- IX.—Relative Morality of the Reformed and Unreformed.

It is a fact that every single charge brought against LUTHER can be made to recoil with double force against the Roman Pontiffs and Priests in an aggravated degree, as will be shown in the following brief sketches.

PART II.

I.—LUTHER'S ALLEGED BLASPHEMY.

THE REV. DR. MCCAVE, a Priest of the Roman Church, in his Lecture on Luther, as reported in *The Midland Counties Express*, charges Luther with "blaspheming God," asserts that "he had made the Almighty the real author of crime, for he had expressly said that 'Free will was incompatible with man, with angels, or any other creature; that it was a vain title. That God wrought the evil in us as well as the good, and that the great perfection of faith consisted in believing God to be just, even though by sheer necessity by His own will, He rendered us worthy of damnation, so as to seem to take pleasure in the torments of the wretched.'" Thus making Luther assert that "God was the author of all crime." The charge is evidently borrowed from Bossuet's "History of the Variations of Protestantism," or from Milner's "End of Religious Controversy"; for we find the statement in the same form in both their works.

The passage, or what is intended to be the passage, is found in p. 171, A, of the third volume of the Jena edition (1600–1603) of Luther's (Latin) works; British Museum reference, 478, c. 3. The quotation purports to be taken from Luther's treatise *De servo Arbitrio*, "On Free Will." He is arguing with Erasmus, the Roman priest. Luther was not declaring his own opinion or belief, but reproducing his opponent's argument *ad absurdum*. The first part of

the passage is taken from p. 307 of the above edition. The next passage, "God wrought the evil as well as the good," I cannot find anywhere. There is a passage something like it on p. 199, B.¹ Then, by going back to p. 171, we meet what purports to be the rest of the quotation, which I will give in Luther's own words: "Hic est fidei summus gradus, credere illum esse clementem, qui tam paucos salvat, tam multos damnat; credere justum, qui sua voluntate nos necessario damnabiles facit, *ut videatur, referente Erasmo*, delectari cruciatibus miserorum, et odio potius quam amore dignus."

The meaning of which passage, with its context, becomes clear:—"This is the highest pitch of faith to believe in the mercy of God, although few are saved, and so many condemned, to believe in the justice of God, who, by His will, creates us, though by the necessity of our fallen nature we become inevitably subject to condemnation, without the special help of His Holy Spirit; so that, as *Erasmus states it*, He seems to find pleasure in the torments of the wretched, and to be deserving of hatred rather than love." It has been happily remarked by Archdeacon Hare, on this very perversion,—for it is a common resource with all unscrupulous Romanists who desire to vilify Luther and the Reformation,—that one single stone put across a line might upset a whole train, so one slight falsification of a text perverts the entire meaning of an author. They drop the important words, "as Erasmus states," and throw upon Luther the responsibility of uttering blasphemies against God, which were, in fact, the ideas of Erasmus (*a Romanist himself*), and stated to be his words in the text. The words omitted, *referente Erasmo*, clearly show that Luther was not

¹ "Sic enim fingere videntur hominem per sese bonum, aut non malum, pati à Deo malum opus, dum audiunt à nobis dici *Deum in nobis operari bona et mala*, nosque mera necessitate passiva subijci Deo operanti."

expressing his own opinions, but a conclusion come to by Erasmus.¹

I am willing to believe that this garbling and libellous slander is not Dr. McCave's own, though the responsibility and enormity is not the less, for he recklessly adopts it as his own. Every Romish writer against Luther repeats these exploded libels *ad nauseam*, second and third hand, without taking the ordinary precaution of a verification, but like the Chinese workman who is given a thing to copy or to make, imitates it most servilely, even with its faults; as Archdeacon Hare observes, as a thief is detected through some flaw in his shoe or boot, which happens to coincide with the foot-prints about the spot where the robbery was committed; so here we may feel confident that Dr. McCave, who verily needs a literary detective to track him, took his quotations from Bossuet, because, after the Chinese fashion, he copies Bossuet's faults. All these garblings, mistranslations, and misrepresentations, are given in Bossuet's second book of his "*Histoire des Variations*" and by Dr. Milner in his nineteenth Letter of "*The End of Religious Controversy*," even to the omission of the words "*referente Erasmo*."² The guilt is not the less. As

¹ The opinion of Luther is given by Aurifaber, in the "*Table Talk*." In cap. ii., on "*Good Works*," under the heading, "*That God is not the cause of evil*," we have the following:—"Origenes, the teacher (said Luther), made himself much labour about this question whether God was the cause of evil. But we say flatly, 'No; God is not the cause of evil, but a creator of creatures'; so when a man speaketh on that sort he must consider the end, the author, and the cause; for operatively, God is not the cause of evil. He createth and doth nothing that is evil, although he gives to the ungodly a perverse mind, as it is written in the Psalms, 'But my people hearkened not to my voice, and Israel would not hear me; therefore, I left them in the darkness of their hearts, that they worked after their own counsel.'"—*Colloquia Mensalia*, p. 64, second edition. Bell, London, 1791.

² The words of Bossuet are:—"Par là il étoit forcé de rendre Dieu auteur de tous les crimes; et il ne s'en cachoit pas, disant en termes formels—'que le franc-arbitre est un titre vain, que Dieu fait en nous

to Dr. Milner, he was notoriously unscrupulous in his assertions. We all know that Bossuet has been repeatedly convicted of bearing false witness. Take a writer who, throughout all his remarks, shows a decided antipathy to Luther and his supposed doctrines,—I say supposed, for Hallam clearly had not made Luther's works a study, but derived his information, and expressed himself from a superficial examination,—Hallam, in his "Introduction to the Literature of Europe,"¹ refers to Luther. He, for the most part, there can be no doubt, takes his impressions of Luther from Bossuet, but even he is obliged to warn the reader to be cautious and not to be led away by the glowing eloquence of the "eagle of Meaux"; "for," he says, "he is too determined a partisan to be trusted by those *who seek the truth* without regard to persons and denominations; his (Bossuet's) quotations from Luther are short, and in French. *I have failed, in several attempts, to verify his references.*"² This, at least, should have been a warning to Dr. McCave; but no, he even thinks, I suppose, that no one has ever read Hallam! But Hallam begins by warning us "that it would not be just to give credit in every part" to Bossuet's attacks on Luther! Hallam himself, while charging Luther with violence in speech, and as being coarse and dogmatical, candidly admits that "his soul was penetrated

le mal, comme le bien, que la grande perfection de la foi, c'est de croire que Dieu est juste, quoi-qu'il nous rende nécessairement damnables par sa volonté, en sorte qu'il semble se plaire aux supplices des malheureux." Tom. xix., p. 100. Edit. Versailles, 1816. The foot reference is "Luther, tom. ii., p. 444." There is no doubt but Dr. McCave translated literally from Bossuet. Dr. Milner gives the passage as follows:—"God works the evil in us as well as the good," and that 'the great perfection of Faith consists in believing God to be just, although, *by his own will, he necessarily renders* us worthy of Damnation, so as to seem to take pleasure in the torments of the miserable.'—"End of Controversy," Letter xix.

¹ Part I., cap. iv., 59, 61; cap. vi., 4, 26.

² Seventh edition, p. 302, London, 1864.

with a fervent piety, and his integrity as well as purity of life unquestionable." The indignation bestowed upon Luther, as Hare observes, might indeed have been bestowed most deservedly upon the truly atrocious and blasphemous propositions, whereby the vendors of indulgences and pardons who assailed him tried to lure purchasers for their trumpery ecclesiastical wares, "*Venias papales tantas esse, ut solvere possint hominem, etiamsi quis, per impossibile, Dei genetricem violasset,*"¹ and Popes and Priests encouraged, or at least refused to repress or condemn their emissaries for proclaiming them, even when called upon and implored to do so.

I have examined numerous editions, among others the very best Latin edition, in 7 vols., Witterbergæ, and the passage as above appears in Vol. II., A.D. 1546, p. 457, b. Indeed, this would appear also to be one of the editions cited by Dr. McCave, for his quotations from the treatise on Marriage, "fol. 119," corresponds with this edition, which makes him doubly guilty. I have also examined the best German edition, Wittenberg, 1553, and the passage appears in Tom. VI., p. 479, and there are the words, "*Wie Erasmus selbst sagt,*" as Erasmus himself says. Luther, Dr. McCave says, is a blasphemer against God, and he accuses him also of being a "forger and impostor." I ask, who is the blasphemer? Who is the forger? Who is the impostor? Luther or his traducers?

¹ The literal translation of the words of Tetzel is, "There is no sin so great that an indulgence cannot absolve; and even if any one (which is, doubtless, impossible) had violated the blessed mother of God, always a virgin, it is as clear as daylight that, if he only procures an indulgence, all will be forgiven him." "*Sub commissariis insuper ac prædicatoribus veniarum impone, ut si quis, per impossibile, Dei genetricem semper virginem violasset, quod eundem, indulgentiarum vigore absolvere possent, luce clarius est.*" *Positiones fratris, J. Tezelii, quibus defendit indulgentias contra Lutherum*, Theses 99, 100, et 101. The indulgences were sold by Tetzel, under the immediate authority of Leo X. See "*Forma absolutionis plenariæ,*" apud Gerdesium, "*Monumenta Antiquitatis,*" tom. i., No. vii., B., p. 74.

II.—LUTHER'S ALLEGED BLASPHEMIES AGAINST THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

THERE perhaps is not a theologian who so greatly revered the Scriptures as did Luther. Nevertheless his alleged opinions of the relative value of different books has been the subject of severe comment. The statements are almost exclusively borrowed from the "Table Talk," for which Luther was not responsible.

There is a passage quoted by Dr. McCave, as reported in his Lecture in *The Midland Counties Express*, as follows :—"It was Luther who said of the Pentateuch 'We neither wish to see nor hear this Moses; he is master of all hangmen, and no one can surpass him when there is a question of terrifying, torturing, or tyrannizing.'" I have utterly failed to trace this passage. I have in Part I. examined Mr. Baring-Gould's attempts to throw discredit on Luther on this subject, nor need I repeat here the clear distinction Luther made between the *Law* and its requirements, and the *Gospel* scheme of salvation through Christ. Luther's last great work was his Commentary on the Book of Genesis, which was concluded about three months before his death, November, 1545. The Lectures out of which these Commentaries are made up conclude with these touching words :—"This is the dear Book of Genesis. Our Lord God grant that others after me may handle it better. I can do no more; I am weak; pray to God for me, that he may give me a good, happy, last hour." These are not the words of one who could pen such a passage as the one attributed to him by his slanderers.

There is a favourite passage usually quoted as Luther's opinion :—"In presence of the Epistles of St. Paul, the Epistle of St. James is a real Epistle of Chaff." Thus Dr. McCave. Father Anderdon, S.J., in his recent pamphlet, p. 61, "What sort of man was Luther?" has improved on this :—"Luther called the

Epistle of St. James an Epistle of Straw, that ought to be thrown in the Elbe"! but omits the reference.

The passage purported to be quoted occurs in a part of the preface to the German New Testament, published in 1522, printed by Walch, vol. xiv., p. 105, but was omitted from the editions subsequently to 1524. Luther was pointing out the value of the Gospel of St. John above the other three, and concludes: "St. John's Gospel and the 1st Epistle, the Epistles of St. Paul, especially those to the Romans, Galatians, and Ephesians, and St. Peter's 1st Epistle,—these are the books *which set Christ before you*, and teach you everything necessary and salutary for you to know, even though you were never to hear or see any other book or doctrine. Therefore the Epistle of St. James is quite an Epistle of Straw by the side of these." Thus it will be seen that the expression is not used positively, but relatively, and in comparison with other books of the New Testament, in which the *special doctrines of the Gospel are brought forward more fully and explicitly*. To take this expression apart from the context is to give it the force that is desired—but why not quote honestly? It is nevertheless a fact that the Epistle of St. James, notwithstanding its excellency, was not received as canonical during the first ages of the Church. Again, Luther is represented as rejecting Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews. The utmost that can be extracted from Luther is that he questioned whether this epistle was written by Paul. But what is the tradition of the writers claimed by the Roman Church as orthodox on this head? Irenæus, who flourished in the second century, expressly said that it was not written by St. Paul. Such was the opinion of Hippolytus in the third century. It has been attributed to St. Luke, and it was a question in debate until the time of Eusebius and Jerome. Where was the sin of Luther? Such an opinion does not show a doubt on the acceptation or rejection of the Epistle itself—as inspired. The

Church of Rome rejected the whole of the Apocrypha down to the year 1546, all of which since that date is accepted by her as canonical.

Pope Gregory I. himself rejected the entire Apocrypha, as no part of the sacred Canon of Scripture and he followed the list of Jerome, who also rejected those books as uninspired. Surely a monk may express his doubts if a bishop and a Roman saint reject books by the wholesale!

Luther is blamed also for his opinion on the Apocalypse. He is stated to have said in the "Table Talk," "Let each man judge of this book according to the light that is in him, and by his own particular perception. I do not desire to impose my opinion respecting it upon any one. I say, simply, that which I think of it myself. I look on the Revelation of St. John to be neither Apostolic nor prophetic." He gives the following reasons:—"Many of the Fathers of the Church rejected this book; consequently, every man is at liberty to treat it according to the dictates of his own mind. For my part, one single reason has determined me in the judgment I have come to respecting it, which is, that Christ is neither adored in it, nor is He therein taught such as we know Him."¹

In these expressions, and, as alleged in the "Table Talk," for which Luther is not responsible, of the relative value, in his estimation, of the Books of the New Testament, he has been called a Blasphemer against God and of His Holy Scriptures!

But a charge like this coming from Romanists, whose Church has degraded Scripture by bringing it on a level with their Traditions, is really too ridiculous. Nay, practically, they place Tradition above the Scriptures, for Bishop Canus tells us that "Tradition is not only of greater force against heretics than the Scriptures, but almost all disputations with heretics is

¹ Quoted in Michelet's "Life of Luther," Bogue's edition, 1846, p. 273.

to be referred to tradition."¹ The importance of Tradition to the Roman Church is thus boldly summed up in the following startling passage from the pen of a popular Jesuit writer, Costerius, and it has not the honourable distinction of appearing either in the Prohibitory or Expurgatory Indices of Rome:—"The excellency of the unwritten Word doth far surpass the Scriptures, which the Apostles left us in parchment; the one [Tradition] is written by the finger of God, the other [the Scriptures] by the pen of the Apostles. The Scripture is a dead letter, written on paper or parchment, which may be razed or wrested at pleasure; but Tradition is written in men's hearts, which cannot be altered. The Scripture is like a scabbard, which will receive a sword, either leaden, or wooden, or brazen, and suffereth itself to be drawn by any interpretation. Tradition retains the true sword in the scabbard; that is, the true sense of the Scripture in the sheath of the letter. The Scriptures do not contain clearly all the mysteries of religion, for they were not given to that end to prescribe an absolute form of faith; but Tradition contains in it all truth, it comprehends all the mysteries of faith, all the estate of the Christian religion, and resolves all doubts which may arise concerning faith; and from hence it will follow that Tradition is the interpretation of all Scriptures, the judge of all controversies, the remover of all errors, and from whose judgment we ought not to appeal to any other judge; yea, rather, all judges are bound to regard and follow this judgment."² Thus making void the word of God by their traditions! Albertus Pighius did not hesitate to compare the Scriptures to a nose of wax,³ which allows itself to be pulled this

¹ Canus, *Loc. Theol.*, lib. iii., c. 3, p. 166, Colon., 1605.

² Coster., *Eucharist.* c. i., p. 44, Colon., 1606. Quoted by Sir H. Lynde, *via Devia*, sec. vii., p. 300, London, 1850.

³ "Sunt enim Scripturæ velut cereus quidam nasus; qui sicut horsum illorsumque facile se trahi permittet," &c.—*De Ecclesiâ Controv.* iii., p. 90, Paris, 1549.

way and that. He goes still further, he places the Gospels subject to the Church ; that is, of course, the Roman Church, practically Pope, Bishops, and Priests. " *All the authority of the Gospels depends on that of the Church, and the authority of the Church is greater and more notable than that of Scripture; and the Church imparted canonical authority to the principal Scriptures, that is, to the writings of the Gospel, which authority they did not possess, either from themselves, or from their author; and the Church preserved to other scriptures the authority they had from their writers; and thus, through the Church alone, and her authority, we now believe the Scriptures.*"¹

With reference to the Scriptures generally, when we bring an accusation against Popes and Priests of their opposition to the free perusal of the Scriptures, they invariably appeal to the fact that before Luther gave us his translation the Church of Rome published the Scriptures in the vernacular of different countries, and they call our attention to the Pope's Licence printed with every edition of their translations. With regard to this particular licence or recommendation, it had only reference to Martini's translation in Italian, with notes, in several folio volumes. But when the same text was published in England and elsewhere, but without the notes, it was immediately placed in the Prohibitory Index, and authoritatively suppressed.²

But of what practical benefit are these translations when by the Fourth Rule of the Index, confirmed by the

¹ See Wordsworth's "Letters to Gondon," Sequel, second edition, 1848, who gives in Appendix B the original text.

² In the Decree of January 17, 1820, the prohibited Testaments are thus entered :—"Nuovo Testamento secondo la vulgata tradotto in lingua Italiana, da Monsig. ANTONIO MARTINI, Arcivescovo di Firenze." Livorno, 1818; Deer. 6 Sept., 1819. Idem Gesu Cristo. Edizione Stereotipa, Shacklewell (this is the English edition), dai Torchi di T. Rutt, 1813. Deer. ed. Juxta Decreta S. Congr. Indicis, 13 Jan., 1767 [1757], ed. 23 Jun., 1817.

Council of Trent, it is laid down that, "Inasmuch as it is manifest from experience that if the Holy Scriptures, translated into the vulgar tongue, be indiscriminately allowed to every one, the temerity of man will cause more evil than good to arise from it; and that, therefore, without the written consent of the Bishop or Inquisitor, they must not be read or possessed." This rule is still in full force, and any seeming relaxation in 1757, as often asserted, has been overruled in a *Monition* included in the Index of Gregory XVI., which bids all bear specially in mind that those regulations are particularly to be insisted on which were set forth in the Fourth Rule of the Index.¹

But what encouragement have priests given to study the Scriptures? What encouragement do they now give? Hear what the late Doctor and Cardinal Archbishop Wiseman said on this subject. In his "Catholic Doctrine of the Use of the Bible," London, 1853, he says, in page 26, "In Catholic countries such as can read, or do read, have access to the Latin version without restraint. Though the Scriptures may be permitted, we do not urge upon our people, we do not encourage them to read them." In page 25, he adds that where the Church permits "the reading of Scripture, she does not permit the interpreting." "If, therefore, we be asked why we do not give the Bible indifferently to all, and the shutting up (as it is called) of God's Word be disdainfully thrown in our face, we will not seek to elude the question, or to meet the taunt with a denial, or by attempts to prove that our principles on this subject are *not* antagonistic to those of Protestants. They are antagonistic, and we glory in announcing it. The experiment has been tried on a great scale of what the indiscriminate reading of the Bible will make a people. It has transferred a mild and promising race into a pack of lazy, immoral infidels."

¹ *Monitum Sac. Cong. editum, Fer. v., die vii., Januarii, 1836.*

"Again," he says contemptuously, "the Bible is the schoolboy's task-book; it is the gaoler's present; it is the drunkard's pawn-pledge; it is the dotard's text-book; it is the irreverent jester's butt; it is the fanatic's justification for every vice, and blasphemy and profaneness which he commits."

Had the Bible taught Popery, the Doctor would have held another language. Indeed, Romanists published a new edition of the New Testament, known as the "Bordeaux Testament," corrupted throughout, to vouch for Popish dogmas.

What advantage then are all these editions if people are not allowed to read them freely? When Martini's Italian translation, recommended by the Pope himself, was republished in England *verbatim*, without the notes, it was, as we have seen, prohibited and placed in the Index of prohibited books!

And still further to complicate the matter, the Roman Creed precludes us from putting any interpretation on any given text unless the Fathers are agreed on that interpretation; or advancing any interpretation contrary to that which the Roman Church has held, and does hold, as part of her creed, but which interpretation is nowhere given us. We ask who degrades Scripture, Luther or Romanists?

III.—LUTHER'S ALLEGED CONTEMPT OF THE FATHERS.

LUTHER's alleged contempt for the early Christian writers, called the Fathers, is repeatedly referred to. Dr. McCave, in his Lecture, reported in *The Midland Counties Express*, "reminds his hearers that the apostate friar of Germany not only declared that the immortal Chrysostom 'was nothing better than a mere babbler,' but that St. Jerome was not a doctor of the Church, but a heretic who had spoken most carnally, wickedly, sacrilegiously, and blasphemously." These are statements, exaggerated by Dr. McCave, attributed to Luther in the "Table Talk," for which Luther is in

no way responsible, being re-tailed some twenty years after his death. Nevertheless, there is some truth in what we there read with regard to Luther's opinion of the Fathers.

The Jesuit, W. H. Anderdon, in his recent pamphlet on Luther, reproduces the following from the Romish Professor Alzog's works (all his citations are taken second hand from Romish writers), and a part is taken from the "Table Talk." The passage is as follows :—

"All the Fathers fell into error ; and those of them who did not repent before dying are lost eternally. . . . St. Gregory . . . knew very little about either Christ or the Gospel, and was so superstitious as to be easily deceived by the devil. . . . St. Augustine often fell into error, and cannot be safely followed. He was a good, holy man ; but, like the other Fathers, did not possess the true faith. . . . Jerome I regard as a heretic. He wrote many impious things, and deserves to be in hell rather than in heaven. . . . Chrysostom is a sorry fellow, an empty declaimer, who has filled many books with pretentious trifles. . . . Basil is worthless ; he is a monk through and through, and, to my mind, he is of no weight whatever. . . . The 'Apology' of Melachthon is superior to anything the doctors of the Church, not excepting Augustine, ever wrote.¹ . . . Thomas Aquinas is nothing to us ; he is a theological abortion, a fount of error, whence issue all the heresies that subvert Gospel teaching."

¹ Here he has omitted, "Hilary and Theophylactus are good, as also is Ambrosius. The last is admirable, when he treats upon the most essential article, that of the forgiveness of sins." See Michelet's "Life of Luther," Bogue's edition, 1847, p. 273, the same edition as quoted by Mr. Anderdon. This picking out of passages is not creditable. Luther continues, "Amongst the Fathers, St. Augustine holds unquestionably the first place, Ambrose the second, Bernard the third ; Tertullian is thorough Carlsbad. Cyril contains the happiest sentences, Cyprian the Martyr is a feeble theologian, Theophylactus is the best interpreter of St. Paul. Read St. Chrysostom, the best rhetorician and orator of them all." "Luther eulogised very highly the history of St. Epiphanius and the poetry of Prudentius. 'Augustine and Hilary have written with the greatest clearness and truth of them all ; the other Fathers must be perused with judgment.'" "St. Augustine pleases me more than all the others. He has taught a pure doctrine, and has declared, with true Christian humility, his works to be subject to the Holy Scriptures." Ibid. 274. This is not exactly what is intended to be conveyed by the above extract from Alzog.

In the absence of precise references, we are quite unable to test the accuracy of these disjointed statements. Nevertheless, it is true that, in the "Table Talk," we do find that Luther is said to have held the Fathers in very little esteem.

In his genuine writings Luther did not trouble himself about the Fathers. I can only trace one passage, with reference to Jerome, in his genuine works, which I have given on p. 130, *ante* :—

"Hold fast that which is good and most in accordance with the Scriptures and the Holy Spirit; for there is too much of such stuff in the writings of the Fathers. To give an instance. Can anything be more carnal, unchristianlike, and blasphemous, than what St. Jerome says, 'that virginity replenishes heaven, while marriage replenishes the earth?' just as if the patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, the Apostles, and other married people, though believers, belonged only to this world, and not to the other as well; and as if virgins among the heathen, though they never knew of Christ, had a place in heaven. And yet such and the like passages are gleaned by the Sophisters from the writings of the Fathers."

The selection, however, of Chrysostom and Jerome is unfortunate, for it appears that they both taught the Lutheran so-called heresy of "Justification by Faith." When these two Fathers express their opinion (being in direct contradiction to Rome's teaching) they are silenced by being placed in the Expurgatory Index. Chrysostom said: "This one thing I will affirm, that faith only by itself saveth."¹ And Jerome said: "Faith alone justifies. Works do not justify."² The words, "Justificatio ex fide sola," were by the Expurgatory Index directed to be expunged from the editions of Chrysostom; and the words, "Fides sola justificat. Opera non justificant," from the editions of Jerome.³ The testimony of antiquity was thus sought to be gagged to make room for the new theory of justification by works.

¹ In fide et Lege Naturæ. Tom. i., in Psal. xiii., Paris, 1588.

² Hieron. Oper., tom. ix., cap. iv., ad Rom., Basil, 1537.

³ See Index Libr. Expurg. per Quirrog. Salmuri, 1801, p. 106.

Not only are these two *Fathers*, but almost all the writings of the early Christians have been, more or less, censured as heretical in the Roman Indices. The best,—at least, greatly esteemed,—edition of Jerome's works is that edited by Erasmus, a learned Roman priest; published at Basle, 1516, in nine volumes; republished in 1526 and 1537; and at Lyons in 1530. In the "Expurgatory Index Hispatii," 1632, this work is condemned, and Erasmus himself is styled, for his pains in reference to this edition, a "condemned author."¹

The great and orthodox Augustine has, perhaps, suffered most in this way by the hands of Romanists. In the Madrid, 1667, edition of "Indices Librorum Prohibitorum," we have eleven folio pages of passages directed to be expurgated from various editions of his works as decidedly heretical.² Referring to the Venice edition of Augustine's works, 1570, David Clement, in his "Bibliothèque Curieuse Historique et Critique," Göttingen, 1741, tom. ii., pp. 263–272, says: "The editor warns us, as an honest man, that he has removed everything which might infect Catholics with heresy, or cause them to turn from the orthodox faith;" and he cites several examples of the manipulation of the text. The same fact is recorded by Le Clerc in his "Bibliothèque Universale," tom. v., p. 272, Amsterdam, 1687. Referring to the same edition (Venice, 1570) we read: "They inserted in the title that they had exercised great care to cause everything to be expunged that might possibly infect the souls of the faithful with any evil of heresy, or to draw them from the Catholic and orthodox faith." And any one who desires to inform himself on the extent of the almost universal corruption of the

¹ "In primâ operum Erasmus Roterodamum adde auctorem damnatum. Hoc ejus opus hactenus prohibitum, nunc verò cum expurgatione permissum." P. 289.

² See Collette's "Sketch of the Life and Writings of St. Augustine," cap. iii. W. H. Allen & Co., London, 1883.

Fathers may, with profit, consult Dr. James's work on the subject.

Is not all this in confirmation of Luther's estimation of the Fathers, since there is scarcely one of them that escapes censure by expurgation, and most of them have had their text wilfully corrupted?

No person, perhaps, was better informed on the writings of the Fathers than Doctor, now Cardinal Newman. In his "Lectures on the Prophetic Office of the Church," 1837, he gives his deliberate opinion on the use of the Fathers by Romanists:—

"They (Romanists) extol the Fathers as a whole, and disparage them individually; they call them one by one Doctors of the Church, yet they explain away one by one their arguments, judgment, and testimony. They refuse to combine their separate and coincident statements; they take each by himself, and settle with the first before they go on to the next. And thus their boasted reliance on the Fathers comes at length to this—to identify Catholicity with the Decrees of Councils, and to admit those Councils only which the Pope has confirmed."—P. 71.

"Romanist, heretic, and infidel unite with one another in denying the orthodoxy of the first centuries; just as, at this moment, the same three parties are banded together to oppose ourselves."—P. 74.

"The Fathers are only so far of use in the eyes of Romanists as they prove the Roman doctrines, and in no sense are allowed to interfere with the conclusions which their Church has adopted; they are of authority when they seem to agree with Rome, of none if they differ."—P. 53.

"How useless, then, is it to contend with Romanists, as if they practically agreed to our foundations, however much they pretend to it! Ours is Antiquity, theirs the existing Church."—P. 85.

"According to the avowed or implied conviction of their most eminent Divines, there is much actually to censure in the writings of the Fathers, much that is positively hostile to the Roman system."—P. 97.

"Enough has been said to show the hopelessness of our prospects in the controversy with Rome. We have her own avowal that the Fathers ought to be followed, and again that she does not follow them; what more can we require than her witness against herself which is here supplied us? If such inconsistency is not at once fatal to her claims, which it would seem to be, at least it is a most encouraging omen in our contest with her."—P. 99.

We may now safely turn the tables on Luther's libellers, and ask who is it that disparages the Fathers?

Luther expresses his opinions freely. Papists claim the Fathers as their property, but expurgate and tamper with their works to make them speak Popery, and then claim them as their witnesses.

IV.—LUTHER'S ALLEGED CONFERENCE WITH THE DEVIL.

It is generally alleged that Luther, while in a conference with the devil, learned from him arguments against the sacrifice of the Mass, and was thus led under Satanic influence to renounce Transubstantiation and the Mass.

We have various versions presented to us of this alleged conference, and the most has been made of it. Dr. McCave, a Roman priest, purports, in his Lecture on Luther, as reported in a local paper, to describe "the conference with the devil about the Sacrifice of the Mass, and how Luther perspired with agony; how he was seized with terror and trembling and horrible palpitations of the heart in the midst of the dispute; how the sound of the devil's thundering voice, of his awful, irresistible arguments, completely unmanned him; and how at length he was compelled to give his consent to the abolition of the Mass, that sacrifice which for so many years he had devoutly celebrated."

Bossuet, in his "*Variations de l'Eglise*," thus relates the incident:—"Tis marvellous to see how gravely and vividly he describes the devil's coming to him in the middle of the night, and awakening him to have a dispute with him; how closely he describes the fear which seized him, the means which converted him, his trembling, the horrible feeling of his heart throughout the dispute." All this description is an invention. Michelet, in his "*Life of Luther*," makes no mention of the circumstance. Audin, of course, does not allow this opportunity to pass in order to disparage Luther. He sets out all the alleged dialogue as a reality.

Hazlett, in his translation of Michelet's *Life*, has given us what purports to be the entire dialogue.¹

This dialogue covers eight closely-printed octavo pages. No person, not having the predetermined purpose of damaging Luther's cause and teaching, could possibly conceive that Luther was detailing an absolute personal conversation with the devil. One might as well suppose when Christ cast out seven devils from one man, there were literally emitted from his body seven substantial black gentlemen, with all the popular adjuncts of hoofs, horns, and pointed tail; or that his Satanic Majesty in person goes about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour. Luther frequently refers to the assaults of the devil, and how he is to be resisted. Are we in each of these cases to picture to ourselves personal visits? Why, then, in the present instance?

Luther had been a cloistered monk, born and bred in all the delusions and superstitions of Rome. That Church teaches that her Saints had constant intercourse and battles with his Satanic Majesty, who appeared to them in every varied shape, from an ape to the angelic form of a virgin's naked beauty. The Jesuit, John Bollandus, devoted his life to the compilation of the "Acts of the Saints," in almost every half-dozen pages of which we are favoured with just such scenes as above so graphically described. Why, then, should the Saints of Rome monopolise the distinguished privilege, also alleged to be granted to Luther according to his traducers, of being favoured by visits from his Satanic Majesty? When St. Anthony described—as actualised by painters—the temptations, varied and terrible, with which the powers of evil tried the faith and constancy of the Saint, in those days none either questioned the reality of these imaginings of a brain wrought by vigil, by fast, by moody musings into a state (lately described by Dr. Forbes Winslow, on this very subject), balancing

¹ Bogue's edition, pp. 430, 437. 1846.

between somnambulism and insanity, or supposed the Saint given over to the dominion of his tempters, because he suffered such things. When Catherine of Sienna, in half delirious ecstasy, imagined to herself in actual betrothal to our blessed Lord, a bestowing of a ring and an exchange (*not figurative but actual!*) of *his* heart for *her* heart! and when she gave forth this mad reverie to the world, so far from offending against any established, recognised idea of the possible, the proper, or the *true!* she was regarded as a specially honoured favourite of heaven. But when Luther employs the same mode of expression to describe those "searchings of the heart," those spiritual wrestlings and conflicts in which he seems to have been exercised as largely and deeply as most men, at once he is judged by another rule altogether. The ready lie of controversy represents him as engaged in personal intercourse with an evil spirit of an unprecedented kind; and the very boldness, with which Luther throws his mental conflict into the shape of a dialogue with Satan, is adduced as a proof of the judicial folly with which a man who had put himself to school to the devil, confessed both his teacher and his doctrines to the world; whereas the very grossness of the folly here attributed to Luther ought to suggest to the most credulous Papist a misgiving that his "blind guides" *must* be leading him astray as to Luther's meaning.

The form into which Luther has put his argument in this matter is, I admit, scarcely judicious. The keenness and polish of his irony was probably thrown away upon the coarser spirits of the age in which the argument appeared, while the calumniators of every age since have been only too glad of the pretext for representing the writer as literally the devil's scholar in reference to the sacrifice of the Mass,—an essential of the Romish system,—and having done this, they adroitly leave the matter there, and send the calumny into circulation without further explanation or inquiry. But what are the true facts of the case?

The asserted colloquy, and the time of the occurrence, are at variance with matter of fact, and with dates. The learned historian Seckendorf, from whom I have already quoted, in his "Commentarius historicus et apologeticus de Lutheranism,"¹ &c., has set this, and other calumnies against Luther, at rest. Seckendorf proves that one Justus Jonas, Luther's colleague in divinity, and who translated this piece of Luther's from the German into Latin, left out many things, as, in particular, these words, "*Meo corde; multas enim noctes mihi acerbas et molestas fecit,*" which ought immediately to follow the sentence, "*Satan mecum cæpit ejusmodi disputationem.*" So that, in English, the translation should be, "Satan began with me, *in my heart*, the following disputation." To his mind's eye, alone, did the tempter appear. And where is the Christian, whom God enables to work out his salvation with fear and trembling, upon whom Satan has not intruded?

I will now dispose in a few words the allegation—that Luther gave up the doctrine of the Mass, at this conference, by the irresistible arguments of the devil.

Luther was made Priest on the Sunday *Cantate*, A.D. 1507. When he was "compelled (as alleged) to give his consent to the abolition of the Mass" by "the thundering voice of the devil," he had been fifteen years a priest; therefore the dispute must have taken place after the year 1522.² If it be found, then, that Luther opposed the Mass *before* 1522, the *devil* did not determine him. Luther published his book "*De Captivitate Babylonica*" and "*De Abroganda Missa*" in the year 1520; in both of which he proclaimed his opinions, and at the Diet of Worms objections were made to what Luther wrote against the Mass in his book "*De Captivitate Babylonica.*" The

¹ Lib. i., sec. cii., pp. 166–7, fol. Leips., 1694.

² Hazlitt, in his reprint, gives the date 1521.

Diet of Worms was held in April, 1521. This completely shatters Bossuet's and Dr. McCave's theories.

Having explained the true version of the fable of Luther's supposed interview with the devil, by whom it was suggested he should give up the Mass as an imposture, a similar charge has been made of an alleged interview between Zuinglius and the alleged "black" gentleman, by whom Zuinglius is supposed to have been inspired to reject the "real Presence," in the Sacrament of the Eucharist, as also related by Dr. McCave and others. The subject is so far interesting, since Romanists exhibit in this as much want of knowledge as they do in their description of the alleged interview of Luther with his Satanic Majesty.

Having described Luther's alleged interview with the devil, by whom he was inspired to renounce the doctrine of Transubstantiation, Dr. McCave proceeds to Zuinglius, who, he tells us, was actuated by the same evil spirit, and thus led to the same result. The story is variously given by Romish controversialists, Bellarmine, Lingard, Milner, and Dr. Wiseman, and now by Dr. McCave. They all varnish up the tale according to their love for the marvellous. Dr. Wiseman gives, however, the most truthful version, but he introduces it with an affected charity, which raises the minds and expectations of his readers. He says:—"Though the narrative weighs greatly in our favour, I feel a repugnance to detail it; it is degrading to humanity and to religion, that anything so discreditable, so debasing, should be recorded by any writer by himself." He then represents Zuinglius as telling us that he was exceedingly anxious to get rid of the "Catholic" doctrine, but found a great difficulty in the words, "This is my body—this is my blood"; that he could find nothing in Scripture to warrant a departure from the literal sense. The happy revelation occurred to him on the morning of the 13th of April. He found himself in a dream, disputing with one who pressed him close, while he

seemed unable to defend his opinion, until a monitor stood by his side. "I know not," he emphatically exclaimed, "whether he were *white or black* who suggested this important text, 'This is the Lord's Passover.' He expounded it next morning, and announced to his hearers that, on the strength of it, the doctrine of the real Presence was to be abandoned." This account, given by Dr. Wiseman, in his Lectures on "The Doctrines and Practices of the Catholic Church," vol. ii., p. 182, London, 1851, is the least perverted of all the Romish versions. The unfairness lies in the manner in which the subject is introduced, and the inference he desires to be drawn, that Zuinglius's own opinion was undecided until this dream occurred, whereas he had openly repudiated the doctrine, long before the occurrence stated took place. Dr. McCave's story is a little varied. He says, "If the Anti-Romanist lecturer (Mr. Murphy) could not add to this story of Luther any experiences of his own of the Devil's unearthly voice, of his method of argument, if *no demon nor dark sprite from the nether world* has as yet put in an appearance before him, and convinced him that Transubstantiation was a myth, just as the famous 'Black or White Phantom' appeared to the reformer Zuinglius, and satisfied him upon that point (see Zuinglius's works); at least William Murphy could point out to his audience that, either these stories of the Reformers were strictly true, or they were mere inventions. If true, how horrible that Luther should have learnt to give up the Mass—*Zuinglius to deny the real Presence on the authority of Satan*; but if inventions, how scandalous—how very deplorable—that the two apostles of Protestantism should have turned out such impudent forgers and impostors. To escape from this dilemma, by replying that the Reformers were mad, intoxicated, duped, or suffering from some malady, when they saw these visions and dreamt these dreams, is after all a most sorry apology, and only creates the

further dilemma—When were the patients sane? sober? when quite well?”

When Dr. McCave directs his readers or hearers to “see Zuinglius’s works” in order to verify his version of the tale, he desires it to be understood that he had consulted them himself. If he had, then I say without hesitation that he himself is the “forger,” and if he had not, then he is an “impostor,”—a “forger” for falsifying facts,—and “impostor” for trying to make us believe that if we looked into Zuinglius’s works we should find what he states as the result of his *own personal perusal*, while the fact is,—and I verily believe it to be the fact,—he never so much as saw even the outside of an edition of Zuinglius’s works. The reference “see Zuinglius’s works,” is particularly encouraging and precise, when the last and best edition of Zuinglius’s Latin and German works, 1828–42, fills eight volumes! The edition I have before me is the Tiguri or Zurich edition, 1581. The passage in which Zuinglius records his dream is to be found in the work entitled, “Subsidium de Eucharistia,” tom. ii., fol. 249. He states that after having been engaged for two days in a public dispute with Papists before the Council of Zurich, against the doctrine of Transubstantiation and the Mass,—not the *real presence* under which expression Romanists attempt to shield their flesh and blood doctrine, or Transubstantiation,—which he strenuously opposed, his mind was occupied with the subject of finding parallel passages in Scripture to the words “This is my body,” in accordance with, and in confirmation of, the sense in which he had been long satisfied that these words were to be understood, namely, *figuratively*, and that in a dream (the incidents of which were manifestly determined by the transactions of the two preceding days, while it plainly exhibited some of the ordinary general characteristics of dreaming), a person seemed to suggest to him the passage in Exodus xii. 11, “This is my passover,” as

a good and satisfactory parallel. As to the individual who made the suggestion, Zuinglius's words are, '*Ater fuerit an albus, nihil memini; somnium enim narro.*' "Whether he was black or white, I do not remember, for I am relating a dream." Does this simple narrative warrant the attack made by Dr. McCave or Dr. Wiseman, that Zuinglius learned to give up the doctrine of the real Presence on the authority of Satan, or to question whether he was mad, or sober, intoxicated, duped, or suffering from some malady, or that the narrative was degrading to humanity, and to religion discreditable and debasing? Was there ever a more disgraceful exhibition of malevolent spirit or downright ignorance on the part of these two theologians? The simple fact being that after the excitement of two days' discussion, Zuinglius had suggested to him in a dream by some one, he could not recollect who, that the text in Exodus was parallel to that which is advanced to prove Transubstantiation, a doctrine he was opposing; and that when he awoke and examined it he was satisfied of its relevancy! One might as well charge Paul in like manner when he admits to have been warned by a vision to take a particular course (Acts xvi. 9).

There are, however, two points relied on by Dr. McCave to damage the Reformer, in both of which he is grossly deceived.

First.—That the person who appeared in the dream was necessarily Satan, because the word "black" is used. Now the proverbial character, according to the known manner of expression, of the phrase "*ater an albus*" denotes simply that the object to which it is applied is unknown, and it does not apply to either an evil or good spirit; and the proof of this is found in "*Erasmi Adagia*," Oper., tom. ii., col. 261, Lugduni Batavorum, 1703.¹

¹ In fact, the expression, "*Ater an albus*," as every Latin scholar knows, is a *proverbial* one. In the *Lexicon* of Facciolati, under the word *Albus*, we find, "*Albus an ater sis, nescio.* Proverb. de eo,

Second.—As to the point of time when Zuinglius arrived at the truth or falsehood of the doctrine of Transubstantiation. The fact of the previous two days' discussion on the subject, might have satisfied Dr. McCave or any one else who had consulted the passage referred to; but the priority of time to the dream of the adoption by Zuinglius of his views of the Eucharist, and especially of the figurative interpretation of the text in question as a fact, is given in Hottinger's "*Historia Ecclesiastica Novi Testamenti*," tom. vii., p. 364; Tiguri, 1667; and also in Gerdesius's "*Introductio in Historiam Evangelii Renovati*," tom. i., p. 328; Groningen, 1744.

If Romish controversialists would take a little pains, by a previous investigation of authorities, before they bring their sweeping assertions, and would moderate their language to suit the *facts* of the case, we should find that "Protestants and Papists would understand each other aright"; a failing which Dr. McCave affects to deplore. But what is the use of our taking so much pains to set them right; they don't want to know the *truth*. Truth is not their object; for when it is pointed out to them, they turn a deaf ear; and when it suits their purpose they repeat the same slanders and falsehoods with as bold a face as if they had never heard the truth.

V.—LUTHER'S MARRIAGE WITH A NUN.

THE fact that Luther married CATHERINE BORA, who had formerly been a Nun, has ever been in the estimation of Roman Priests a grave offence. It is true that Luther brought grave charges against the Priests and

quem omnino, quis sit ignoramus; et contemptum significat Cic. 2. Phil. c. 16. Vide quam te amarit is qui albus, atrove fueris ignorans, fratris filium præteriit. Catul. carm. 91 in Cæsar:—

"Nil nimium studeo, Cæsar, tibi velle placere
Nec scire, utrum sis albus, an ater homo."

Monks for their immoralities, and they now retaliate on Luther. Dr. McCave, in his Lecture (reported in the *Midland Counties Express*), goes so far as to assert that Luther seduced the Nun; others assert that he eloped with the Nun; and on these false pleas they charge him with being a libertine and notoriously immoral. This slander is utterly without any foundation to support it. It is a curious fact that when a Priest quits the Church of Rome, the first charge usually brought against him is his alleged past immorality.

This was made conspicuous in the case of the converted priest, Achilli, who had no sooner publicly announced his secession from the Roman Church, than he was accused by Doctor, now Cardinal, Newman, of having been guilty of gross immoralities. Achilli boldly met this charge by bringing against the Doctor an action for libel. According to the evidence for the defence, in justification, witnesses were produced to prove that Achilli had been, for a series of years, with the knowledge of his superiors, and while an officiating Priest, leading a most immoral and depraved life, committing debaucheries in the very sanctuary! The evidence went to show that he even got promotion with an admitted knowledge by his superiors of his alleged depravities, all which was, as appears, winked at, and only brought to public notice after he had left the Roman Church! The jury, however, placed no reliance on the tendered evidence, and visited Dr. Newman with heavy damages. And so it is with Luther. Happily, however, in his case we have the testimony of Dr. Lingard that Luther was a man of unimpeachable morals, which the Roman paper, *The Weekly Register*, of September 28, 1883, says referred only to the time while he was a monk. After he left the Roman communion not one single act of his life can be brought in judgment against him to impeach his moral character. Luther's accusers writhe under the vigorous blows he dealt out against Popes

and Priests. Hence the virulent abuse of which he, without any justifying proofs, has been the victim.

The history of Luther's marriage is shortly as follows:—Catherine Bora escaped from the Nunnery of Nimptschen in 1523. She and several others took refuge under Luther's roof. Michelet,—though a Romanist,—who relates the circumstances in his "Life of Luther," does not give the faintest hint of any such scandal as advanced by Dr. McCave and others.

The calumny against Luther appears to be founded on Luther's own words: "I took [he says] a wife in obedience to my father's commands, and hastened the consummation, in order to stop the tongues of slanderers, and all obstacles."¹ Dr. McCave says Luther was a seducer! From this passage, and they really have nothing else to rely on, they jump to a false conclusion, placing the scandal on immoral grounds. The scandal was that he, a Priest, should marry at all. I am not aware that a Roman Priest does take such a vow,—it is a matter of discipline. He had ceased to be a Monk. Yet, according to Rome's "Moral Theology," it is a greater evil for a Priest to marry than to commit fornication.² Or, as Cardinal Campeggio openly pronounced before the magistrates of Strasburg, "that it was a greater sin for Priests to be married, than to keep several harlots in their own houses."³ But what was the testimony of Erasmus, himself a Priest of the Roman Church, at this very period? In his Annotations in Ep. i. ad Timoth. cap. 3, edition as after quoted, he wrote:—"If any consider the state of these times, how great a part of

¹ "Postulante patre meo conjugium inii, et ut linguas maledicorum et impedimenta vitarem, congressum nuptialem properanter iustitui." Oper., tom. iii., fol. Edit. Jena, p. 150, cited by Seckendorf, in his "Apology for Luther," lib. ii., n. 4, Leips., 1694.

² "Est majus malum sic nubere quam fornicare."—Bellarmine, de Monach. lib. ii., cap. 34, tom. ii., col. 375, Ingold, 1601.

³ "Quod sacerdotes mariti fiant, gravius esse peccatum, quem si plurimas domi meretrices habeant." Cardinalis Campegius apud Sleidan, lib. iv., p. 74, London, 1689.

mankind the multitudes of Monks make up, how great a part the colleges of Priests and Clergymen, and then consider how few out of so great a number truly preserve chastity of life, with how great scandal most of them are openly incestuous and incontinent, into what kinds of lusts innumerable of them degenerate, he will perhaps conclude it to be more convenient that those who do not contain may have the freedom of public marriage, by which they may maintain purity of chastity, without infamy, rather than they should commit unhappy and shameful lusts. The world hath now many unmarried men, but few chaste, &c." Need I advert to the notorious fact that the Bishops, Priests, &c., who attended at the Council of Constance, brought with them their concubines, to the great scandal of the Church! Alas for Dr. McCave's eloquent and elaborate lecture on the sacredness of "Virginity and Celibacy!"

Qui Curios simulant et Bacchanalia vivunt.—JUVENAL.

To return, however, to Luther. "The report [he said] is true that I am married on a sudden to Catherine, before I was obliged to hear a clamour against me, as is usual on such occasions."¹

In another letter Luther wrote:—"I have prepared myself that, before I die, I may be found by God in the state in which I was created, and, if possible, retain nothing of my former Popish life. Therefore, let them rave yet more, and this will be their last farewell. For my mind presages that I shall soon be called by God into the grave. Therefore, at my father's desire, I have taken a wife."² And again, "I would not deny this last obedience to my father, who required it in hopes of issue, and also to confirm the doctrines I have taught."³ The "Table Talk" gives Luther's

¹ Luther *Epist. ad Amsdoresium*, lib. ii., p. 295, dated June 22, also quoted by Seckendorf, lib. ii., n. 7, edition as above.

² Quoted by Seckendorf as before, lib. ii., sec. 5, n. 4, from Luther's works, *Epist. ad Ruhelium*, tom. iii., fol. edit., p. 150.

³ *Ibid.*, lib. ii., n. 7.

prayers before his marriage:—"Loving heavenly Father, forasmuch as Thou hast placed me in the honour of Thy name and office, and will also have me to be named and honoured a father, grant me grace and bless me, that I may rule and maintain my loving wife, children, and servants divinely and Christian-like. Give me wisdom and strength, well to govern and to bring them up; give also unto them hearts and wills to follow Thy doctrine, and to be obedient. Amen."¹ And this is the alleged "libertine" and "seducer."

Melancthon, a contemporary of Luther, against whom, though a Protestant, not one word of scandal has been uttered, testified in respect to this marriage: "If common fame says anything indecent, it is manifest that it is a lie and a calumny."² The learned Romanist, Erasmus, who was ordained a Priest in 1492, also a contemporary and opponent of Luther, gave the following testimony on this subject: "Luther's marriage is certain; the report of his wife's being so speedily brought to bed is false, but I hear she is now with child. *If the common story be true, that Antichrist shall be born of a Monk and a Nun, as they pretend; how many thousands of Antichrists are there in the world already?*"³ And that Erasmus was unprejudiced, appears in his following words, viz.: "I was in hopes a wife would have made Luther a little tamer, but he, contrary to all expectations, has published a most elaborate work against me, but as virulent as any book that ever he wrote." It must be remem-

¹ Cap. 49, "On Matrimony," p. 401. Bell's Second Edition. London, 1791.

² "Si quid vulgo fertur aliud indecentius, id mendacium et calumniam esse perspicuum est."—Melanc. apud Seckendorf, lib. ii., n. 10

³ "De conjugio Lutheri certum est; de partu maturo sponsæ vagus erat rumor; nunc tamen gravida esse dicitur. Si vera est vulgi fabula Antichristum nasciturum ex monacho et monacha, quemadmodum isti jactitant, quot Antichristorum millia jam olim habet mundus?"—Erasm. Epist. xxii., lib. xvii., edit. Lugd. Bat., 1703.

bered that Erasmus himself had previously propagated the scandal, in a letter addressed to the President of the High Council of Holland, in 1525, on erroneous reports, spread by Luther's enemies, but which reports, as I have already shown, he was honest enough subsequently to contradict.

Luther was not married until two years after Bora's escape from the Nunnery.

We are reminded of Bora's vows as a Nun, as also of Luther's as a Monk. Luther was an Augustinian Monk, whose patron saint was the illustrious Augustine. Let us hear what Augustine said of such vows:—"They that say the marriage of such men and women as have vowed constancy is no marriage, but rather adultery, seem to me not to consider discreetly or advisedly what they say."¹

We have a notable example of a Monk being permitted to be married. Alexander III. granted a dispensation to Niccola Guistiniani, a Benedictine Monk, who has since been beatified, to marry, in order to prevent the extinction of the Guistiniani family. He married the daughter of the Venetian Doge Micheli, and after he had begotten a sufficient number of sons to secure the continuation of the line, he returned to his religious profession.² Surely, in this instance, the Pope cannot convert a sin, if a sin, into a virtue! Luther obeyed the command of his own father in marrying.

Luther, in his person, abrogated a cruel and unnatural law "forbidding to marry," the mark of a vicious, unchristian, and antichristian polity. But no such institution as marriage was required to hand down to posterity a name which will ever live in the hearts and minds of thousands, for he bequeathed to us the great and glorious REFORMATION, which is identified

¹ Augustinus de Bono Viduitatis, c. x., p. 375, tom. vi., Paris, 1685.

² See Cartright, "On Papal Conclaves," p. 121, Edinburgh, 1868.

with, and inseparable from, the name of the immortal MARTIN LUTHER.

This cruel law has brought on the Roman Priesthood more scandal than would be fitting here to enumerate.

VI.—LUTHER'S ALLEGED SANCTION FOR THE LANDGRAVE OF HESSE TO COMMIT BIGAMY.

ONE of the favourite charges against Luther is that, on his opinion being asked, he gave his public and official sanction to Philip, the Landgrave of Hesse, to marry again, his first wife being alive.

This charge was thus plainly and forcibly put by Dr. McCave, as reported in *The Midland Counties Express* :—

“ But worse still, Luther did decide the matter for the Chancellor of the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, and did publicly, did officially, as a theologian and reformer, give it as his written verdict that Philip, the Landgrave of Hesse, might become a bigamist, and espouse Marguerite Sahl as his *femme de rechange*, and thus ‘ provide for the health of his body and soul, as well as the glory of God.’ See documents quoted by Bossuet, in his *Hist. de Variat.* ”

Is it a creditable proceeding to vilify a man on the credit of a decided partisan, when the man's own words are available ?

The matter is narrated in the Romish paper, *The Weekly Register*, of 25th August, 1883, with the following introduction :—

“ One act alone disproves at once and for ever the hollowness and the hypocrisy of their agitation against indulgences,—we mean the granting by Luther himself of an indulgence of the kind which Protestants of the old school believed all Catholic indulgences to be, but which no Catholic indulgence ever was,—a permission to sin.”

Indulgences not a permission to sin! The doctrine of Indulgences at this period was not an article of faith in the Roman Church, but a pernicious practice and wicked imposture, unless, indeed, we care to take "Ex Cathedrâ" Bulls of Popes as authoritative definitions by making the decree of the late Vatican Council on "Infallibility" as operating retrospectively. "Not a permission to sin," indeed! The German princes, all Roman Catholics at this very time (1522-1523), assembled at the Diet of Nuremberg, submitted to the Pope the grievances under which the German nation were then suffering, which they embodied in the now notorious "Centum Gravamina," or "One Hundred Grievances,"¹ a document of undoubted authority. The reader is referred to Part IX. (*post*) for a complete reply to this bold assertion of the editor of *The Weekly Register*. The fact being that these Indulgences were practically licences to sin in the most aggravated form.

The circumstance in the life of Philip, Duke of Saxe-Weimar, above alluded to, is repeatedly thrust before us as a proof of Luther's low estimate of morality in *publicly* and in his *official* capacity as a Theologian and Reformer, *deciding the matter for the Chancellor, and by giving his written verdict* that the elector might be a bigamist. All this is precise, and but for coming from a Romanist, might mislead. It is extraordinary, indeed, supposing this to be true, that Romanists should assail the Reformers by impugning their moral teaching, without duly considering how they lay themselves open to counter-charges of the very same character. Though I admit this would be no justification of Luther if he were equally guilty, for two blacks will not make one white.

¹ I have published the original text of these "Hundred Grievances," with a translation. Partridge & Co., 9, Paternoster Row, 1869. The text I have taken from Brown's edition of his "Fasciculus Rerum," &c., Londini, 1690.

The question here is the permission to marry again, the wife still living, the two not being legally separated by a divorce. What was the recognised practice of the Roman Church on this head at that very time ?

Let me take the case of Henry VIII. I select this case first, because Henry was contemporary with the Landgrave, and, again, the Rev. W. H. Anderdon, in his recent pamphlet, "*What sort of Man was Martin Luther ?*" (p. 34), also refers to this subject, drawing a parallel between the conduct of the Pope when Henry petitioned him to sanction his divorce to marry another wife. He informs us that the Pope "parted with one of the fairest provinces of the Church's domain, rather than consent that a king, who had even defended the faith, should be sanctioned to put away his wife to marry another. 'Look on this picture and on this!'" It is a pity this writer did not study his history before he drew such a comparison.

For reasons not necessary to enter into here, and which I have discussed elsewhere,¹ the King desired to obtain a formal separation from Catherine, his first wife. In December, 1527, he sent a deputation, of whom Cardinal Wolsey was one, to obtain the Pope's sanction for a separation. Here there was no question of Catherine's unfaithfulness ; and the marriage itself had had the sanction of a previous Pope by a formal Bull. In January, 1528, the King's desire was made known to Pope Clement VII. Dr. Lingard, the Roman Catholic historian, tells us that the Pope signed two instruments presented to him by the envoys of King Henry, the one authorising Cardinal Wolsey to decide the question of divorce in England as the Papal legate, *granting Henry a dispensation to marry, in the place of Catherine, any other woman whomsoever, even if she were already promised to another,*

¹ See my "Henry VIII.: an Historical Sketch," W. H. Allen & Co.

*or related to him in the first degree of affinity."*¹ In those days betrothal, or promise to another, was a legal impediment to marriage. So that the Pope did not hesitate to set aside the laws of public morality. Now, I ask can any one point out anything in Luther's writings so deliberately immoral and contrary to the law of God, as such a licence given by a Bishop of Rome? A Christ's VICAR on EARTH sanctioning bigamy and incest! When Luther's opinion was asked whether, under the circumstances, Henry could marry again, although every Roman Bishop in England but Fisher, and every University in Europe had given an opinion in favour of the divorce, what did Luther say? Luther's opinion is given in the "Table Talk" in the chapter "On Matrimony," chap. 49, title "Of King Henry of England," and that was clearly against the separation.² The decretal Bull for the divorce did not follow, simply because Charles V., of Germany, Catherine's nephew, interfered, and threatened to re-imprison the Pope if he issued such a Bull. The Pope was not a free agent. Fearing to act openly, he wrote to the French Ambassador in England, the Bishop of Tarbes, that he would be glad to hear that the King had remarried without consulting him, that the responsibility might be shifted from him, but so that he should not be lessening his own powers as to dispensations and limitations of the Divine law, which the Pope, of course, takes upon himself to set aside.³ Lord Herbert, of Cherbury, in his "Life and Reign of Henry VIII.," p. 130, London, 1683, gives the text

¹ Lingard, "History of England," vol. vi., pp. 128-9, edit. 1848; and pp. 172-3, edit. 1823.

² Colloquia Mensalia, Bell's Second Edition, London, 1791, p. 398.

³ "A ce qu'il m'en a déclaré des fois plus de trois en secrète il seroit content que le dit mariage fust ja faict, ou par dispense du Légat d'Angleterre ou outrement; mais que ce ne fust par son autorité, ni aussi diminuant sa puissance quant aux dispenses et limitation de droit divin."—"Déchiffrement de Lettres," de M. de Tarbes. Legrand, vol. iii., p. 400, quoted by Froude, "History of England," vol. i., p. 241, London, 1856.

of a letter under date 1530, Sept. 17, written to Henry by Gregory Cassalis, his agent at the Court of Rome, the original of which he declares he had himself examined. In this letter Cassalis informed him that Pope Clement VII. had promised to concede to his Majesty the *permission of even having two wives!*¹ On the 25th of January, 1533, Henry married Anne Boleyn, without waiting for the Bull of Dispensation. At the instigation of the Emperor, the Pope was about to issue a Bull of Excommunication, but he temporised and withheld it, fearing the consequences to himself. In July, 1533, however, the Bull was issued, but suspended on the intercession of Francis I., King of France. On the 17th September, 1533, this King wrote to Henry² that the Pope *would legalise this second marriage if Henry would acknowledge the Papal jurisdiction by some formal act, and he would find a sentence immediately given in his favour; a single act of acknowledgment was all the Pope required,* but Henry indignantly rejected the proposition. The Pope's power in England was repelled, and in 1535 Paul III. issued his Bull of Deposition and Anathema, not because Henry married a second wife, but because he threw off the Pope's jurisdiction. Now, what have Romanists to say to these undoubted facts of history? A Pope, the supposed Vicar of Christ, first actually sanctioned, in writing, a separation of husband and wife without adultery being alleged, with permission for Henry to marry again within the prohibited degrees of affinity, that is, to commit incest; then intimating that Henry might even have two wives, provided only he submitted to the Pope's jurisdiction. But then, this was a Pope. Luther was only an "apostate monk." A Pope can dispense with the Law of God; as Vicar of Christ

¹ "Superioribus diebus, Pontifex secreto, veluti rem quam magnam fecerit, mihi proposuit conditionem hujusmodi, concedi, posse vestræ majestati ut duas uxores habeas."

² See "State Papers," vol. i., p. 421, quoted by Froude.

he cannot possibly do any wrong, and upon this hypothesis, if he was so far to err (a thing they declare impossible, of course) by prescribing vices or prohibiting virtues, then the Church would be bound to believe that vices are good and virtues evil, unless she wanted to sin against conscience.¹ But when a poor apostate monk expresses an opinion, as we shall see, with modesty and reserve, on the same subject, he is branded as a libertine and encourager of adultery and bigamy. What would be sin in a heretic becomes sanctified when sanctioned by the Pope, *i.e.*, crime ceases to be a crime when the criminal is a believer. This is, in fact, the plain teaching of Rome, yet it is laid to the charge of Luther as "execrable moral theology" if taught by a heretic; but, as I have shown, becomes legalised and sanctified if practised by a Pope.

But the matter does not end with the case of Henry VIII. The *Times* of the 19th February, 1880, gave extracts from the then late Encyclical Letter of Pope Pius IX., which was published in full in the Paris *Monde* of the 18th February. In this Encyclical, the Pope, after condemning secular marriages, and the facilities of Divorce, "urges that his predecessors were the champions, not only of the Church, but of civilization and humanity, in *refusing divorces* to powerful princes, such as Henry VIII., Napoleon I., &c.; *but that the Church mitigates the prescriptions of its own laws when called for by serious reasons!*" These "serious reasons" are not simply on account of adultery, but the strengthening of the Papacy; more frequently a money consideration being the motive power. A curious acknowledgment of this

¹ "Nam fides Catholica docet, omnem virtutem esse bonam, omne vitium esse malum: si autem Papa erraret præcipiendo vitia, vel prohibendo virtutes, teneretur ecclesia credere vitia esse bona, et virtutes malas, nisi vellet contra conscientiam peccare."—Bellarmine, "De Pont. Rom.," lib. iv., c. v., sec. viii., p. 456, Prag. edit., 1721.

pecuniary consideration we find in Father Ryder's reply to Dr. Littledale's "Reasons against joining the Church of Rome." Under the title "Marriage Dispensations," he says: "The pecuniary fine or compensation, exacted in such cases, has at least the advantage of making the suit onerous, and therefore more exceptional; whilst it can always be remitted in case of real necessity."¹

Examples are not wanting of licensed bigamy by the Church of Rome. The eldest daughter of the Church—France—by her bishops and priests, did not protest against, but, on the contrary, assisted in the divorce of Napoleon from his honest and faithful wife, Josephine. The King of Saxony received a dispensation from the Pope (but of which he did not avail himself) to marry again during the lifetime of his wife, an Austrian Duchess.

Pope Stephen withheld his Anathema, and sanctioned the divorce of the French monarch, Charles, from his then wife, to enable him to marry Bertha, Princess of Lombardy; and when the same Prince divorced Bertha to make room for another, this act also was sanctioned by the French Bishops, and was not condemned by Pope Adrian. Innocent IV. authorised the divorce of Alphonsus of Portugal from his Queen to marry Beatrix.

Again, we have the notorious case, the result of Jesuit intrigue, of Don Alfonso VI., King of Portugal. This King opposed the Jesuits. They first induced his wife, Donna Maria, to abandon him; the Parliament then, still under the influence of the Jesuits, decreed the deposition of the King on the ground of his being imbecile and impotent, and promised that his brother should be proclaimed King, under the title of Don Pedro II. During his deposed brother's lifetime Pedro married his brother's wife, after Pope Clement IX. had granted the necessary

¹ "Catholic Controversy," 1881, p. 239.

dispensation, and bestowed his blessing on the new marriage.¹

Alexander VI. in his Brief, dated 8th June, 1501, authorised Alexander, Duke of Lithuania, and afterwards King of Poland, to put away his wife, merely because she belonged to the Eastern Church, in direct violation of his solemn oath, when wedding her, that he would never subject her to any compulsion on account of their differences.²

Henry IV., of Castile, having no children by his wife, Dona Blanca, of Arragon, the Pope gave him a dispensation to marry another wife; but with the condition that if no children were born within a fixed term, Henry was to separate from his new spouse, and return to his legitimate wife.³

Casimir the Great, of Poland (1333–1370), had married Ann, daughter of the Duke of Lithuania, and, on her death, Adelaide of Hesse, who in 1356 returned to her father, being indignant at her husband's infidelities. Casimir then became enamoured of his cousin, daughter of Henry, Duke of Lagen, and, although Adelaide was alive, went through a marriage ceremony with her. Urban V., by Brief, licensed the second marriage during the lifetime of the first wife.⁴

Pope Alexander VI. issued a Bull to enable

¹ See Scott's translation of Griessinger's "The Jesuits," London, 1883, vol. i., p. 186.

² The Brief is set out in full by Father Theiner, "Vetera Monumenta Poloniae," printed in the Vatican Palace, with the imprimature of the Court of Rome collected from the Vatican records, p. 288, vol. ii., fol., Rome, 1864.

³ See Bergenroth's "Calendar of Negotiations," vol. ii., p. cxxvi., and p. 396.

⁴ Ibid., vol. i., p. 649. A succession of Popes did not object to Charlemagne's three or four divorces, and many concubines. *Vide* Griessinger's "Mysteries of the Vatican," ii. 175, and Celestine III. decreed, as Alphonsus à Castro reports, that if "one of the married couple fall into heresy, the marriage is dissolved, and the other may marry another." See Elliott's "Delineation of Roman Catholicism," book ii., chap. 11, p. 233, col. 2. London, 1844.

Ladislaus, of Hungary, to divorce Beatrix, of Arragon, and to marry Ann de Foix; and for thirty thousand ducats the same Pope allowed Louis XI., of France, to dissolve his marriage with the Princess Jane, and marry Anne of Brittany. All these are notorious cases, the public characters of the persons rendering the facts more conspicuous. But there have been numerous instances of similar dispensations given, or rather sold, to people unknown to the public. But, of course, a Pope may do as he pleases. He can set aside the laws of God and Man at his pleasure; but a similar proceeding, if adopted by Luther, would be the act of a libertine.

In order to appreciate the full measure of Luther's alleged crime, we should have the document itself before us. As we are on an historical inquiry, of such importance as to form the ground of so grievous a charge against the great Reformer, I will add a literal translation of the entire document; the original text and a French translation is given by Bossuet in his "History of Variations."¹

In the first place, it should be observed that the original document, which is in the Hessian archives, is not in Luther's handwriting, but in Melancthon's, though purporting to be signed by him and others. I have no desire, however, from this circumstance to seek to shelter Luther, for I myself believe that it is very probable that the document was the joint production of the two, but such as it is, let us have it, and the reader will at once discover that the style is more after that of the gentle Melancthon than that of the fiery and impetuous Luther; and after I have transcribed the letter relied on, I will present another passage of undoubted genuineness on the same subject, wherein Luther condemns bigamy in the strongest terms, a principle advanced by one who undertook to justify *this very act of the Landgrave*.

¹ Lib. vi., p. 378, tom. xix., Versailles edition, 1816.

Bucer was sent by the Landgrave to get the opinion required. The answer runs as follows :—

Since your princely Grace has, through Master Bucer, laid before us a certain long-standing trouble of your conscience,—although it is difficult to answer it in such haste, we would not let Bucer ride off without a letter. . . . With regard to the question, of which Master Bucer spoke with us, firstly, this is our opinion. Your Grace knows and understands this yourself, that it is a very different thing to make a general law, and in a particular case to use a dispensation, out of weighty reasons, and yet according to divine permission; *for against God no dispensation has force*. Now we cannot advise that it be openly introduced, and thus made a law, that each be allowed to have more than one wife. But should anything of this get into print, your Grace may conceive that this would be understood and adopted as a general law, whence much scandal and trouble would ensue. Therefore, this is by no means to be adopted; and we pray your Grace to consider how grievous it would be, if it were charged upon any one that he had introduced this law in the German nation, whence endless trouble in all marriages might be feared. As to what may be said against this, that what is right before God should be allowed altogether, this is true in a measure. If God has commanded it, or it is a necessary thing, this is true; but if it is not commanded, nor necessary, other circumstances should be taken into account. Thus with regard to the question: God instituted marriage that it should be the union of two persons alone, and not of more, unless nature had been corrupted. This is the meaning of the saying "*They two shall be one flesh*," and this at first was so retained. But Lamech introduced the question of having more than one wife at once, which is recorded of him in Scripture as an innovation contrary to the first rule. Thenceforward it becomes customary among the unbelievers, till at length Abraham and his descendants took more than one wife. And it is true that afterward this was allowed by the law of Moses, as the text says, Deut. xxi. 15, "If a man have two wives, &c." For God gave way somewhat to the weakness of nature. But since it was according to the first beginning and the creation that a man should not have more than one wife, this law is praiseworthy, and has thus been adopted in the Church; nor should another law be made and set up against it. For Christ repeats this saying in Matt. xix. 5, "*And they twain shall be one flesh*," and reminds us how marriage was to be at first, antecedently to man's infirmity. That in certain cases, however, a dispensation may be used,—as if a person taken captive in a foreign land should marry there, and on gaining his freedom should bring his wife with him, or if long con-

tinued sickness should supply a cause, as has been held at times with regard to lepers,—if in such a case a man takes another wife with the counsel of his Pastor, not to introduce a law, but as a matter of necessity, such a man we could not condemn.

Since then it is one thing to introduce a law and another to use a dispensation, let your Grace also consider the scandal, namely, that the enemies of the Gospel would cry out, that we are like the Anabaptists, who take several wives at once, and that the Evangelicals seek the liberty of having as many wives as they please, according to the practice in Turkey. Again, what Princes do gets abroad much faster than what is done by private persons. Again, if private persons hear of such an example in their Lords, they desire that the like should be allowed to them, as we see how easily a practice spreads. Again, your Grace has an unruly nobility, many of whom, as in all countries, on account of the great revenues which they derive from the chapters, are violently opposed to the gospel. Thus we know ourselves that very unfriendly speeches have been heard from divers young squires. Now, how such squires and the country folks will behave towards your Grace in the matter, if a public proceeding be adopted, may easily be conceived. Again, your Grace, through God's grace, has a very illustrious name, even amongst foreign kings and potentates, and is feared on account thereof, which credit would be impaired thereby. Seeing then that so many scandals are combined, we humbly entreat your Grace to consider this matter well and diligently. *This, however, is also true, that we by all means entreat and exhort your Grace to avoid fornication and adultery*; and in truth we have long had great sorrow from hearing that your Grace is laden with such distress, which may be visited with punishment from God, and other dangers; and we entreat your Grace not to esteem such matters out of wedlock a light sin, as the world tosses such things to the winds, and despises them. But God has often fearfully punished unchastity, for it is recorded as a cause of the Deluge that the rulers practised adultery. Again, the punishment of David is a solemn example; and Paul often says, *God is not mocked; adulterers shall not enter into the kingdom of God*. For faith must be followed by obedience, so that one must not act against one's conscience, nor against God's commandments. *If our conscience condemn us not then have we confidence towards God; and if through the Spirit we mortify the deeds of the body we shall live: but if we live after the flesh,—that is, against our conscience,—we shall die*. This we say, because it is to be considered that God will not trifle with such sins, as many people now grow bold to entertain such heathenish thoughts. And we have heard with pleasure your Grace has seriously mourned on account thereof, and feels sorrow and repentance for them.

These great and weighty questions press for your Grace's attention, pertaining to the whole world. Moreover, your Grace is of a slender and far from a strong constitution, and sleeps little ; wherefore your Grace should reasonably spare your body, as many others are forced to do. And we read of the illustrious Prince Scanderberg, who wrought many noble deeds, against the two Turkish Emperors, Amurath and Mahomet, and protected and preserved Greece as long as he lived. He, they say, specially exhorted his soldiers to chastity, and said that nothing takes away a brave man's spirit like unchastity. Again, even if your Grace had another wife, and did not seriously resist the evil practice and inclination, it would not avail your Grace. It behoves a man in his outward walk to bridle his members, as Paul says : "*Yield your members as instruments of righteousness.*" Therefore, let your Grace, in consideration of all these causes, the offence, the other cares and labours, and the weakness of body, weigh this matter well. Be also pleased to consider that God has given your Grace fair young Princes and Princesses with this consort ; and be content with her, as many others must have patience under their marriage, to avoid offence. For that we should excite or urge your Grace to an offensive innovation, is far from our mind. For your country and others, might reproach us on account thereof, which would be intolerable to us ; because we are commanded in God's word to regulate marriage, and all human matters, according to their first divine institution, and, so far as possible, to keep them therein, and to avert whatever may offend any one. Such, too, is now the way of the world, that people like to throw all the blame upon the preachers, if anything unpleasant fall out ; and men's hearts among high and low, are unsteady ; and all sorts of things are to be feared. But if your Grace do not quit your unchaste life,—or that you write that this is not possible—we would rather that your Grace stood in better care before God, and lived with a good conscience, for your Grace's happiness, and the good of your country and people. If, however, your Grace should *at length resolve to take another wife*, we think that this should be kept secret, as was said above of the dispensation ; namely, that your Grace, and the Lady, with some confidential persons, should know your Grace's mind and conscience through confession. From this no particular rumour or scandal would arise ; for it is not unusual for princes to have concubines ; and although all the people would not know what the circumstances were, the intelligent would be able to guess them, and would be better pleased with such a quiet way of life, than with adultery and other wild and licentious courses. Nor are we to heed everything that people say, provided our conscience stand right. For that which is permitted concerning marriage in the

law of Moses, is not forbidden in the Gospel, which does not change the rule of outward life, but brings in eternal righteousness and eternal life, and kindles a true obedience to God, and would set our corrupt nature straight again. Thus your Grace has not only our testimony in case of necessity, but also our advice, which we beseech your Grace to weigh as an illustrious, wise, Christian prince; and we pray that God may lead and direct your Grace to His praise, and to your Grace's happiness.

This then is what is described as the "public" and "official" document, "*deciding* the matter for the Chancellor,"—"pronouncing a *written verdict* that Philip might become a bigamist." Is there the slightest justification for the charge?

It is evident from this document that the Landgrave had made up his mind to marry the second wife; Luther and Melancthon therefore had nothing better to urge than, if he was so determined, he must act in a manner not to create a scandal, but they in no way approved or recommended the act; and this is the only part of the document which could possibly be construed as a sanction to commit bigamy!

Is there any reason to believe that had the Landgrave been a member of the Roman Church, for a consideration, he would not have easily obtained from the Pope a Dispensation? Can there be a doubt on the subject?

I venture to express an opinion that the style of the above document is not Luther's. He was not one to cringe to royalty, or seek popularity at the expense of truth, or give up his own opinions, right or wrong. When the same Bucer above named, the messenger of the Landgrave, published a pamphlet in defence of polygamy under the assumed name of "Hulderic Neobulus," after the double marriage of the Landgrave became notorious, Luther was so incensed that he intended to answer it, but was dissuaded from doing so. But he nevertheless expressed his opinion of Bucer's work in unmistakable terms. They are alluded to in Melancthon's second letter to

the Landgrave, and quoted by Seckendorf.¹ Luther wrote:—

He who desires my judgment upon this book, let him hear. Thus says Dr. Martin Luther on the book of Neobulus. He who follows this rogue and book, and thereupon takes more than one wife, and means that this should be a matter of right, may the Devil bless his bath in the bottom of hell! Amen! This, God be praised! I well know how to maintain; and though it snowed pure Neobulos, Neobulos Hulderics, along with pure Devils, a whole year through, people shall not make me a right out of this. This I will prevent. Much less shall they make me a right, that a man may separate himself from his wife rightfully, when she has not already separated herself by open adultery, which this rogue would also like to teach.

While one cannot admire, as in good taste, the language of Luther, the sentiment is unmistakable, and does not exactly justify Dr. McCave's estimate of Luther's opinions on bigamy.

And once again. The most complete edition of Luther's works is that edited by J. G. Walch. He gives a fragment of Luther's projected reply to Neobulus,² wherein he says, in answer to an argument drawn from the example of the patriarchs and of the Jewish kings: "We have already shown in a number of Books that the Law of Moses does not concern us, and is no longer law, and that we are not to look at the examples in the history of the saints, much less of the kings, but at God's commandments, and at their faith." Compare these passages with Dr. McCave's citation, and let us ask for the justification of these charges. If the "Table Talk" is to be admitted, we have an express opinion given as to the two only causes of separation of married persons:—

What separateth matrimony? There are two causes of divorcement: First adultery; then (said Luther) Christians ought to labour and use diligent persuasions, that those married people may be

¹ Lib. iii., p. 281, Leips., 1694.

² See Hare's "Vindications," p. 244, London, 1855.

reunited again, and withal, sharply to reprove the guilty person, and to read a sound text unto the same. The second cause is, when one runneth from the other, and cometh again, and afterwards runneth away again. Such companions have commonly their mates in other places, who richly deserve to be punished.¹

VII.—LUTHER AS AN ALLEGED OBSCENE WRITER.

THE most recent attack on Luther under this head is from the pen of the Jesuit, W. H. Anderdon, in his recent pamphlet "What sort of Man was Luther?" In page 5, as an excuse for not transcribing in his pages the alleged obscenities of Luther, he says:—"The reader need not apprehend any superfluous quotations from the words of this παντόλμος ἄνθρωπος [shameless man]. They form a gutter literature, of which Protestant editors have learned to be ashamed; and many things have accordingly been expunged, even by them, from their issue of his writings. Some passages will be given; but they shall be favourable specimens compared with what remains unquoted." The reader will be able to appreciate what Mr. Anderdon means to convey by "what remains unquoted" if he will refer back to page 76, and his remarks on the Letter written by Luther to his friend Jerome Weller.

The reader, after this statement, will perhaps be surprised to hear that there is not one single extract in this pamphlet attributed to Luther that even borders on indecency; so his readers are left the opportunity of drawing largely on their imaginations as to the alleged obscenity.

I am not aware that this charge can be brought against any single work of Luther's own writings. Indeed, so very few have been translated into English, that

¹ Colloquia Mensalia, "On Matrimony," cap. 49, p. 400. Bell's Second Edition, 1791.

I am really at a loss to conjecture to which of the translations of Luther's own works Mr. Anderdon refers as having been amended. There have been several translations of the "Table Talk," but Luther is not the author of that work. It was published twenty-three years after his death.

The most literal and authentic translation of it is that of Captain Henry Bell.

We must go back to the year 1566, when the original first appeared under the auspices of Aurifaber. His edition was in Latin; Bell professes to have translated from the "High Dutch," he probably meant German; Deutch means German; whereas Mr. Hazlett, in his translation, has professedly modified certain rough expressions, which though common, and of no account in those days, are scarcely seen in modern books, though often heard from the mouths of persons in ordinary conversation. By comparing the two editions our English readers will at once arrive at a just estimate of the alleged obscenities; they extend to a few words which modern society has discarded, but equivalent words are freely used to mean the same thing, or convey the same idea. But is it fair to bring such a book in judgment against a man, purporting to be the result of familiar conversations between friends at convivial meetings, reproduced more than twenty years after his death?—conversations spoken, but never intended to be published. I think many of us would look with considerable dismay if we saw all our common talk reproduced in print without the advantage of correcting the press.

To the preface of Bell's second edition, London, 1840, is added a "Life of Luther," from the pen of John Gottlieb Burckhardt, D.D., written A.D. 1790.

Commenting on this work, the "Table Talk," he says:—"There are, indeed, many things which, for the credit of Luther, might as well have been left out, but then it must be considered, that such discourses

must not be brought to the test of our present refined age; that all which a man of Luther's name and character spoke, particularly at the latter part of his life, was thought by his friends worth the press, though himself meant it only for the recreation of the company; and that he altered many opinions in the progress from dark to light. It is, however, with a work of this kind, as it is with the published letters, which were never intended for the press; the author speaks his sentiments more freely, and you are able to form a true idea of his character, by looking, as it were, into his heart."

Since the more fair and crystal is the sky
The uglier seem the clouds that in it fly.

The blemishes are but very few, and the book has been so greatly appreciated that we have several translations presented to us. The following is the estimate given of the work by Dr. Burekhardt:—"The same manly, open, bold, and generous spirit breathes throughout the whole, as is felt in reading the compositions which he [Luther] published himself during his lifetime. There is a pleasing variety of matters contained in these discourses, and many fundamental truths are proposed in a familiar, careless dress, and in Luther's own witty, acute manner, for which reason it is as much entertaining to popular capacities as to men of genius. Many good Christians have found it to be of great benefit for establishing their souls in the knowledge and practice of truth, and of the good old way; and, since many weeds grow up from time to time in the Church, this book, handed down to posterity, will be a standing test of sound doctrines, which our forefathers believed, and of such wise principles on which they acted, at and after the time of the Reformation."

I feel certain that Luther's vilifiers, founded on the "Table Talk," have not personally studied that grand work, otherwise they would be struck with the piety

and practical common sense on a variety of subjects there laid before the reader.

It is, however, not the plain Saxon expressions found now and then in this book which has given such dire offence to Romanists, but the unmerciful lashing Popes and Priests are subjected to, exposing their vices and immoralities, resulting from a celibate life.

But, really, it is truly ridiculous for a Roman Priest to be so excessively squeamish, when he himself has to go through a course of study to fit him for the Confessional, that to apply to it the word disgusting would be too mild. And all from the pens of Jesuits! Their works were so awfully atrocious that they were ordered in Paris to be burned by the public executioner. The pages of Dens and Liguori are so fearfully obscene that no person can have any possible conception how such filthy matter could have been conceived and dictated by celibate Priests! The experiment was attempted in England, in an English garb, in the "Confessional Unmasked," to expose the horrible and loathsome system of confession, but even here could only be given a partial disclosure, and this book was suppressed by a criminal prosecution, as being too filthy for publication.

The complicated bestialities in their books written for the instruction of, and compiled by, celibate Priests, are lasting proofs of the utter corruption of their system,—which they call *Moral Theology*! Their only excuse is, that it is in Latin, and for the Priests. That, however, does not alter the facts. It is rather surprising, therefore, that the "Table Talk," should offend the delicate and sensitive perceptions of a Roman Priest.

VIII.—LUTHER AS AN ALLEGED MURDERER.

THE most atrocious of all the charges against Luther is that he was a murderer according to his own confession. In a Lecture delivered by the Rev. W. H.

Anderdon, of the Society of Jesus, otherwise Jesuit, in the Church of Our Lady and St. Patrick, Nottingham, he is reported in the *Nottingham Daily Guardian and Evening Post* of September 26th, 1883, to have said as follows:—

“There were other events also in the history of Germany with which Luther was connected, one being the ‘Peasants’ War.’ By the very confession of Luther, he had hounded on first one side and then the other until Germany swam with blood, one hundred thousand peasants having perished, and Luther said in so many words, ‘as if he gloried in it,’ ‘the blood’ of these peasants is on my hands: I lay it on the Lord God, by whose command I acted.”

In the rev. gentleman’s recent pamphlet, “What Sort of Man was Martin Luther?” he furnishes in foot references the source of his information. On page 31 we read, “The ‘Peasants’ War’ was a war of rebellion, then of massacre. It is computed to have cost an hundred thousand lives.” To this the following note is added:—

“After the capture of Weinsburg, [the peasants] resolved to give no quarter whatever to any prince, count, baron, noble, knight, priest, or monk,—‘in a word, to none of the men who live in idleness.’ They accordingly massacred all the nobles who fell into their hands; in order, they said, to avenge the death of their brethren in Suabia. . . . They destroyed a great number of convents; in Franconia alone two hundred and ninety-three monasteries were pillaged and burned (Hazlitt, pp. 373, 374).”

The reference here is to Hazlitt’s translation of Michelet’s “Life of Luther,” Bogue’s edition, 1846. He continues:—

“Now, not only is Luther responsible for this wide slaughter, but he undertook the responsibility. ‘I, Martin Luther,’ said he, ‘have shed

the blood of the rebellious peasants, for I commanded them to be killed. Their blood is, indeed, upon my head; but,' he blasphemously added, '*I put it upon the Lord God, by whose command I spoke.*' He was only extinguishing, in torrents of blood, the fire he himself had kindled."

The authority for this quotation of Luther's words is in a footnote given as "Table Talk, ed. Eisleb., page 276." This page corresponds with the Eisleben folio edition, 1566, in the British Museum (1226, i. 7). It is to be presumed, therefore, that Mr. Anderdon had before him Hazlitt's Michelet and this edition of the "Table Talk."

It is not necessary to go into the painful history of the "Peasants' War," which desolated Germany. Michelet devotes to it from page 161 to page 184 in the text, and seven pages of notes in his Appendix on this subject, but nowhere does he give the slightest hint that Luther either was responsible for the slaughter, or that he "hounded on" either side. On the contrary, in page 370 he says, "their insurrection had nothing to do with Lutheranism." He informs us that it was the fanatic Munzer who "excited the peasants to revolt" (page 371). And, furthermore, he set out in full the "sincere exhortation of Dr. Martin Luther to all Christians, to guard themselves against the spirit of rebellion" (pp. 165 and 375). No person can read that wonderful document without admiring its fervent piety and eloquent simplicity, in his earnest entreaty that the princes and nobles on the one side, and the peasants on the other, should cease their quarrels and settle their differences by arbitration.

The peasants had drawn up twelve articles of their grievances. Luther was invited by them to advocate their cause, which resulted in Luther publishing his "Exhortation to Peace." In this document he said:—

"I must confess that I, who am of the number

of those who make the Holy Scriptures their constant study, being addressed by name by the peasants (who refer their case to me in one of their printed manifestoes), I must confess that I feel peculiarly encouraged by this declaration on their part to make public my opinion also on the matter in question, conformably with the precepts of charity which ought to unite all men. By so doing, moreover, I shall relieve myself before God and man from any reproach of having contributed by my silence to the evil, in the event of the present agitation terminating in a disastrous manner" (p. 166).¹

He first addresses himself to the princes and nobles :—

"It is quite clear that we have no one upon earth to thank for all this disorder and insurrection but you yourselves, princes and lords, and you especially blind bishops, insane priests and monks, who, even to this very day, hardened in your perversity, cease not to clamour against the holy Gospel, although you know it is just and right and good, and that you cannot honestly say anything against it" (p. 167).

He then points out how these poor peasants had been oppressed and despoiled by these Princes and Priests. Thus we see that it was Luther's opinion that these peasants were "hounded on" by the unjust exactions and oppressions of the nobles and priesthood. And in the most earnest manner he urges them to cease their persecutions and oppressions :—

"Use gentle means with them, lest the spark now lighted, extending itself gradually round, catching from point to point, produce throughout Germany a conflagration which nothing can extinguish. You will lose nothing by gentleness,

¹ It appears that the Nobles and Priests had accused Luther with being the author of the disturbance.

and even though you were to lose some trifling matter, the blessings of peace would make it up to you a hundredfold. Resort to war, and you may be, all of you, swallowed up, body and goods. The peasantry have drawn up twelve articles, some of these containing demands so obviously equitable, that the mere circumstance of their requiring to be made dishonours you before God and man, and realises Psalm cvii., for 'it pours out contempt upon princes' " (p. 169).

Is this "hounding on" the princes to bloodshed?

The peasants, in most affectionate and persuasive terms, too long to repeat here, he exhorts to be patient under their sufferings, and to submit quietly to authority, and "prosecute their demands with moderation, conscience, and justice." He adds :—

"Dear Friends,—Satan has, as I have said, sent among you certain prophets of murder, who aim at rule in this world, and think to achieve it by your means, without heeding for the moment the spiritual and temporal dangers into which they are hurling you " (p. 172).

"However just your demands may be, it befits not Christians to draw the sword, or to employ violence; you should rather suffer yourselves to be defrauded, according to the law which has been given unto you " (Cor. vi.) (p. 174).

"But, dear friends, I entreat you humbly, and in a spirit of sincere friendship, as one who wishes you well here and hereafter, to pause before you proceed farther in this matter, to reflect most earnestly upon your real interests, and, as the fruit of your reflection, to relieve me from the painful duty of fighting by prayer against you; for though I myself am but a poor sinner, yet I know that in this case reason is so clearly on my side that God would infallibly listen to my solicitations " (p. 175).

And this is what the Rev. W. H. Anderdon calls "hounding on" the peasants to rebellion!

After again earnestly exhorting both parties to peace and mutual forbearance, and recommending a reference of the grievances to a council to be selected out of both parties, he concludes thus:—

"If you will not follow this my counsel (I pray God you may), I cannot prevent you from proceeding to open hostilities, but at least I shall be guiltless of the destruction of your goods, your lives, your souls" (p. 179).

And yet we are to be told that this is the man guilty of the murder of one hundred thousand peasants, by "hounding them on" to hostilities!

Notwithstanding Luther's entreaties, the peasants, urged on by their leaders, committed fearful ravages on the property and persons of their oppressors, which naturally resulted in their ruthless massacre. This result seems to have raised Luther's anger, for Michelet tells us that "Luther anathematized both the one and the other, peasants and princes" (p. 371).

We now come to the alleged acknowledgment that Luther undertook the personal responsibility of the massacres, and that he "put it upon the Lord God, by whose command he spoke." For this we are referred to the "Table Talk," a work, I have repeatedly observed, for which Luther was in no way responsible, being a production first issued twenty-three years after his death.

The following is a translation of the passage referred to, page 276, alluding to the revolt of the peasants:—

"How Preachers are Murderers.—Preachers are the greatest murderers (says Dr. M. Luther), for they *admonish the magistracy according to their office* that they should punish wicked people. I, Dr. M. Luther, have at an insurrection slain all peasants, for I have ordered them to be killed. All their blood is on my neck. But I direct it to our Lord God, who commanded me so to

speak [*i.e.*, admonish the magistrates]. The devil and godless people also slay, but they are not right in so doing. Therefore we must distinguish between private and public persons, as we see that the magistrates, of right and according to their office, may condemn and punish wicked people, and Christian rulers know it also. But other abuses of their office against the Gospel do not thrive thereby."¹

Now, who, on reading this, would not at once understand what Luther meant to convey,—not that he actually ordered all these peasants to be killed, but as a Minister of the Gospel, following the dictates of that Gospel, "God, who commanded me so to speak," he admonished magistrates to punish wicked people, and in doing so was no more physically guilty of murder than the magistrate who puts the law in force? This is so obviously the meaning of the words put into Luther's mouth, that it amounts to a fearful sin on the part of this Jesuit Lecturer to state that Luther, by his own confession, "swam Germany with the blood of one hundred thousand peasants," which result he laid on the Lord, by whose command he acted! Really one does not know how to control one's language properly in designating this bold and shameless manner of bringing false charges against one now long since departed to his rest, and incapable of defending his fair name.

¹ "Wie Predger Todschleger sind. Prediger sind die grösten Todschlöger (sag Dr. M. Luther), denn sie vermanen die Oberkeit ires ampts, das sie böse Buben straffen sollen. Ich Dr. M. Luther hab im Auffrühr alle Bauern erschlagen, denn ich hab sie heissen todschlagen; aller ir blut ist auff meinem Halss, aber ich weise es auff unsern Hernn Gott, der at mir das zu reden befohlen. Der Teufel und die Gottlosen Leute tödten sonst auch, aber dieselbigen habens nicht recht. Darumb sol man unterscheiden die privatas und publicas personas, auff das wir sehen, das die oberkeit von Rechts und Ampts wegen, böse buben verdammen und straffen möge, und Christliche regenten wissens auch. Aber andere misbrauchen ires Ampts wider das Evangelium, das wird inen nicht zu Schwieer gedein."—Edit. Eisleben, 1566, p. 276.

It is not without reason that I have cautioned my readers to doubt every statement or quotation made by a Romanist until the same have been carefully verified.

The "Peasant War," like other wars in other times and countries, had nothing whatever to do with the religion of the country. It was a popular revolt against constituted authority, caused by the cruel exactions and oppressions of princes, nobles, and priests. The reprisals were savage, cruel, and destructive. It was a war of class against class, in which Luther held nothing in common with either party. The result was a ruthless massacre of the weaker party, the peasants. The idea of a JESUIT—a Papist—bringing a charge of persecution as a crime against the Reformer! Rome has ever been, when within her power, a most heartless, persecuting Church, the victims being peaceable and orderly citizens, but who refused to submit to the Pope's rule, or accept Rome's innovations on the primitive Christian and Apostolic worship. Alva boasted of having slain 18,000 unoffending Protestants in the Netherlands, and the Pope applauded the act. Dominic, the ferocious Monk, with fire and sword, slaughtered thousands of innocent Protestant peasants. This monster was in consequence raised to the rank of one of Rome's so-called Saints in heaven. The massacre of St. Bartholomew and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes cost France thousands of Protestants,—her best and most orderly and industrious subjects. The massacre was commemorated by the Pope by striking off a medal illustrated by a destroying angel armed with a flaming sword. And the Inquisition has annihilated, by torture and stake, thousands on thousands of victims, whom the Church of Rome was pleased to call heretics; and yet this Jesuit writer begrudges Luther the questionable luxury of a little persecution on his own account, but of which charge he was entirely innocent.

No. IX.—REFORMED AND UNREFORMED.

Good sir, as you have one eye upon my follies, turn another into the register of your own.—*Merry Wives of Windsor*.

BESIDES the direct attacks on Luther personally and on his writings, an indirect method is adopted to accomplish the same object by seeking to defame the followers of Luther and the other leaders of the Reformation.

We are informed¹ that the leading Reformers themselves have acknowledged that "since the preaching of the Gospel (which must always be understood Luther's dogma of Justification), all kinds of turpitudes and iniquities have been committed." We are told that "the Gospel was received readily enough, because people found it favourable to carnal liberty." We have, accordingly, vice and immorality laid at the door of the "Reformed." All is attributed to the result of Luther's teaching of the "the New Gospel,—Justification by Faith." We have industriously reproduced the alleged acknowledgments by these leaders of the Reformation, of the depravity of the early *reformed*, collected from different sources; but as there is not one single reference to the originals, it is impossible to detect the accuracy, or otherwise, of the citations. Having triumphantly reproduced these statements, which we find in all similar attacks against Luther, the matter is summed up with the Scriptural truths: "Can a man gather grapes from thorns, or figs of thistles,"—"A *good* tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, but a *corrupt* tree bringeth forth evil fruit." The selection of these texts appears most appropriate to the circumstances and the occasion. As these new converts to the alleged new doctrine of "Justification

¹ See *The Weekly Register*, August 11 and 18, 1838. This Romish paper has been foremost in its attacks on Luther.

by Faith " were plucked from the bosom of the Roman Church, it is natural that "thorns" and "thistles" were produced instead of "grapes" and "figs," and that the "corrupt tree" brought forth "evil fruit."

If, however, any argument is to be based on the allegation that many of the "Reformed" were wicked and depraved characters, and that Luther and other teachers gathered "thorns" and "thistles," instead of "grapes" and "figs," assuredly may we not retort on the Roman Church, from whom these early converts sprang, when we have the fact fully established that the entire Roman system, including its members, from the highest to the lowest, lay and clerical, according to their own admission, was a mass of corruption? If that be so, can we wonder that a plentiful crop of "thorns" and "thistles" was found among the so-called "reformed," emanating from such a corrupt source.

For many centuries Popes were most abandoned and debauched characters, obtaining their election by bribery and corruption (technically called Simony), and by murder.

Cobbett, before he was bribed to write his history, facetiously called "History of the Protestant Reformation," gave his deliberate opinion on the character of the Popes, thus:—

"If we look into the history of Popes, we shall find reason to conclude that they were the most abandoned and flagitious of mortals, who hesitated not at the perpetration of any crime to accomplish their purposes. Even Popish writers admit that no throne was ever filled with such monsters of immorality as the Chair of Peter. They are described as having been not only detestable in themselves, but as having given occasion, by their example, to the perpetration of all sorts of wickedness, imposture, delusion, oppression, robbery, tyranny, murder, and massacres."¹

¹ Cobbett's "Register," vol. xxvi., pp. 370-373, London, 1814. He fills three pages describing the deeds of the Popes, as evidence of the assertion as above.

I quote Cobbett, for he at present is in high favour with Romanists.

Matters seemed to have come to a climax at the commencement of the tenth century. Baronius, the Roman Catholic "Annalist" and historian, thus describes the utter state of depravity of the Roman Church :—

"What was, then, the state of the Holy Catholic Church? How exceedingly foul [*quam fœdissima*] was it, when most powerful and sordid, and abominable women ruled at Rome, at whose will the sees were changed, bishops were proscribed, and, what is horrid to hear and unutterable, *false Pontiffs*, their lovers were intruded into the Chair of Peter, who are only written in the catalogue of Roman Pontiffs for the sake of marking the times! *For who can affirm that men illegally intruded by wicked women of this sort were Roman Pontiffs?* There was never any mention of the clergy electing, or afterwards approving. All the canons were closed in silence, the decrees of the Pontiffs were suppressed, the ancient traditions were proscribed, and the ancient custom in electing the Pope, and the sacred ceremonies, and the usages of former days were *wholly extinct*. Thus lust, relying on secular power, and mad and stimulated with the rage of dominion, claimed everything for itself. Then, as it seems, Christ evidently was in a deep sleep in the ship when these winds blowing so strongly, the ship itself was covered with the waves."¹

Genebrard, the learned Benedictine monk and chronicler, said :—

"For nearly 150 years, about fifty Popes, namely, from John VIII. to Leo IX., deserted wholly the virtue of their predecessors, being *apostates rather than apostolical*."²

The lives of the Popes, described by their own historians, represent such series of depravities, and such a mass of iniquity, which, if recapitulated, might fill folio pages.³ It will be quite sufficient for our present purpose, however, if we contemplate the state of the Roman Church at the period of the Reformation. And

¹ "Baronii Annales Eccles.," an. 912, tom. x., p. 697, Antv., 1603.

² "Genebr. Chron.," ad an., 904, Paris, 1585.

³ See Edgar's "Variations of Popery," Second Edition, 1830, pp. 81, 92.

first let us take three of the Popes who were Luther's contemporaries, and hear what Romish historians themselves represent them to be. Alexander VI. they compared to Nero, Caligula, Heliogabalus, and Catiline, with all their vices centering in himself. He is represented as being devoid of all shame, honour, and religion, surpassing his predecessors in cruelty, licentiousness, and every species of immorality. His public debaucheries, perfidy, inordinate ambition, insatiable avarice, inhumanity, and irreligion, rendered him the object of execration throughout Europe,¹ Lucretia was at the same time his daughter, wife, and daughter-in-law.² He purchased the Papacy, and then sold its offices and preferments. He murdered the majority of the Cardinals who had raised him to the Popedom, and seized their estates, and divided the spoils among his numerous illegitimate children, for whom, says Moreri,³ he exposed for sale all things, sacred and profane, and violated all the laws of God and man. He died by drinking poison, which was intended for Cardinals whom he had invited to a banquet to murder them in cold blood, and which was handed to him by mistake. Julius II. was scarcely less atrocious. He bribed the Cardinals to raise him to the Papacy. He was guilty of simony, chicanery, perjury, thievery, empoisonment, assassinations, drunkenness, impudicity . . . and his constitution was shattered by his excesses,⁴ and Leo X. is supposed to have been the Pope referred to by Mirandola, as having declared the Gospel to be a fable, and even denied the existence of a Deity. He was steeped

¹ See the Jesuit Daniel's History, tom. vii., p. 84, Paris, 1729.

² "Alexandri filia, nupta, nurus." Pontanus, in Bray's Histoire, tom. iv., p. 280, Hague, 1732.

³ Dict., vol. i., p. 270, Amsterdam, 1688.

⁴ "Tout rongé de vérole" (Bray as above, tom. iv., p. 371). "Duobus nobilissimi generis adolescentibus stuprum intulit" (Wolf. 2, 21).

in every vice and iniquity to excess, and spent his days in the company of musicians and buffoons.¹

Their own Cardinal Bellarmine admitted that for "some years before the rise of the Lutheran and Calvinistic heresy, according to the testimony of those who were then alive, there was almost an entire abandonment of equity in the ecclesiastical judgments; in morals, no discipline; in sacred literature, no erudition; in divine things, no reverence; religion was almost extinct."² Could the most bitter enemy of the Papacy have penned a more damaging passage than this against that Church? Hear again the declaration of Pope Adrian VI., delivered by his Nuncio at the imperial diet at Nuremburg, in the year of grace 1522, when Luther was beginning to spread consternation in the Popish ranks, by his fearless denunciations of existing corruptions: "We know [he said] that for a long time there have existed many abominations in this Holy See; abuses of spiritual things, excesses in the exercise of jurisdiction; all things, in short, have been changed and perverted. Nor need we wonder that corruption has descended from the head to the members, from the Supreme Pontiff to the inferior prelates."³

It was to this Pope that the "Catholic" princes of Germany (the cradle of the Reformation) appealed to remedy the grievances under which the nation suffered from the rapacity and vices of the Bishops and Priests. These "Grievances" were addressed to the Pope in the year 1522, and known as the "Centum Gravamina." This document is undoubtedly genuine. The Pope offered to remedy these grievances, if the German princes undertook to lock up Luther. Their reply was very simple and characteristic. They told the Pope

¹ "Non caruit etiam infamia, quod parum honeste nonnullos e cubicularios adamavit."—Jovius, *Historia*, p. 192, Paris, 1553.

² Concio, xxviii., Opp. vi. 296, Colon., 1617.

Rainald. Ann., Eccl., an., 1522, n. 66, tom. xx., p. 356.

that if the grievances had not existed there would have been no Luther to trouble the Court of Rome!

Among the "hundred grievances" complained of, I need now only refer to the following:—¹

On the Burdens of Papal Indulgences.

III.—That intolerable burden of Roman indulgences has now for a long time been increasing, when, under the character of piety, the Roman Pontiffs, with the promise of either building Roman churches or preparing a campaign against the Turks, have extracted from the simple-minded and too credulous Germans the very marrow of their substance. And what is of far greater consequence, by means of these impostures and their hireling encomiasts and preachers, the genuine piety of Christians has been adulterated, while these men, in their anxiety to palm off their venal bulls, sing their praises in a marvellous and hitherto unheard-of style, proclaiming that, by these mercenary pardons, not only *past or future sins of the living are forgiven, but sins of the dead*, who are in the Purgatorial fire (as these hucksters in indulgences term it), provided there is only something counted down, some little tinkling in the right hand. And, by trafficking in these wares, both Germany has been stripped of its coin and Christian piety extinguished, since every one, in proportion to the sum which he had invested in these purchases, promised himself impunity in sinning. Hence fornication, incest, adultery, perjury, murder, theft, robbery, usury, and a foul cesspool of horrors, have derived their origin. For what atrocities will mortals any longer shrink from, when they are possessed with the persuasion that licence and impunity in sinning can be secured, not only in life, but after death, from these indulgentiary traffickings, at any price, however immoderate?

It must be remembered these Pedlar-generals were the authorised agents of the Pope, to whom they accounted for their unlawful gains.

V.—Besides his Papal Holiness and the other Bishops and pillars of the Roman Church have reserved several offences for themselves alone to absolve, any one of which if you commit, you must either at once pay down, or go without absolution, precisely because they were reserved with the very object of making money by them. This

¹ See Brown's Edition of the "Fasciculus Rerum," &c., pp. 354 *et seqq.*, London, 1690.

may be safely inferred from their not granting a dispensation, however equitable or necessary the case may be, except on the consideration of some payment or other. If you bring nothing with you, or do not count out, you must continue for ever undispensed.

VI.—But if any one has the means of paying, not only are present transgressions of these ordinances forgiven, but the person indulged is permitted to violate them *with impunity for the future*. Whence they, who have received such a dispensation, lay hold of it as a handle for the perpetration of perjury, murder, adultery, and similar enormities, since any ordinary priest can grant them a venal absolution by virtue of an indulgence; the whole of this harvest of evils originating in the lust of gain, the accursed thirst of gold, with which some ecclesiastics are now miserably tormented.¹

After narrating many other modes adopted for extorting money, and particularly by working on the fears of the dying to the prejudice of the wife and children, “and for what trifling causes the sacraments are denied to the poor,” and the exactions of money for saying Masses for the dead (No. 87), they declare that “most ecclesiastics lived a worldly and absolutely a brawling life.”

XC.—Nor is it also less annoying to the Germans that the greater part of the parish clergy, priests, monks, and other ecclesiastics, mingle with the populace in inns, taverns, and dancing-halls, appearing in the streets also in unseemly attire—with swords, for instance,—and in preposterous dresses; and, besides, with janglings, brawls, wranglings, and bickerings, they provoke the laity to anger, and consequently to arms,—wound, sometimes even slay them. Then they persist in harassing with the thunder of excommunication those miserable laymen, even the persons whom they have injured, till the laity are reduced to compound with the priests on their own terms.

XCI.—Likewise, in most places, the Bishops and their officials not only tolerate the concubinage of the priests, provided a certain sum of money is paid, but they likewise compel continent priests, and those who live without concubines, to pay the composition for concubinage, asserting that the bishop is in want of money, on the payment of which the priests may either remain single or keep concubines. How atrociously wicked is such a proceeding every one can understand.

With all this undeniable evidence before us, existing when the Reformation was set on foot, will any one

¹ See the observations on this subject, *ante*, p. 190.

dare to assert that Luther and his colleagues were not justified in the course they pursued in order to throw off the yoke of this corrupt system? Indeed, if some of the Reformers were so bad as represented, surely they would have desired to remain members of a system where, by such easy terms as the purchase of an Indulgence, they might wipe out all their transgressions, and thereupon commence on a new course of iniquity, to be again whitewashed by other Indulgences.

It is a curious fact that all the attacks on the Reformers are directed against the laity (save those on Luther himself), whereas their own historians give us a lamentable description of the Romish Priests themselves at this very period of the dawn of the Reformation. Hear Mezeray's description of the Priesthood, in his "Abrégé Chronologique," &c.¹ :—

"And certainly the extreme ignorance of the ecclesiastics, of whom many scarcely knew how to read, the scandalous lives of the pastors, almost all of them keeping concubines (*concubinaires*), drunkards, and usurers, and their extreme negligence gave ample room for persuading the people that the religion which they (the Lutherans) were teaching was corrupted, since their own example was so bad."

I might multiply such passages, but to what purpose? The fact of the deep corruption of the Roman Priesthood at this time was notorious, and I will only take a few examples from the records of the Council of Trent. In the fourteenth volume of the Paris 1672 edition of the Councils, by the Jesuits Labbæus and Cossart, we have the speech of Cornelius, Bishop of Bitonto, A.D. 1545, in which is the following (col. 992) :—

"For with what monsters of baseness, with what a heap of filth, with what a pestilence, are not both the priests and the people cor-

¹ Tom. ii., Paris, 1667.

rupted in the holy Church of God ; I place the case in your hands, O Fathers ! Begin with the sanctuary of God, and see *if any modesty, any shame, any hope, or system of good living remained*, if there were not unrestrained and unconquerable lust, unparalled audacity, and incredible wickedness ! Alas ! ‘How is the gold obscured, and how is its fine colour changed !’ There are those two bloodsuckers, which always exclaim, Bring, bring !—the one the mother, the other the nurse of all evils,—I mean covetousness and ambition, each a subtle evil, each a secret poison, a pestilence, and monster of the world ; also, whilst virtue and learning are neglected by those whom we ought to follow as living and breathing laws, vice and ignorance are raised in their stead to the highest honours, and it has at length been brought to pass that edification has made place for destruction, example for scandal, morals for corruption, the observance of the law for its contempt, strictness for laxity, mercy for impunity, piety for hypocrisy and deceit, preaching for contention and pride, and for the vilest gain ; and, to sum all in one sentence, which it is grievous to utter, the odour of life for the odour of death.”

Peter Danesius, Orator of the King of France, at the same Council (A.D. 1545), said :—

“Hence, since it appears to many that almost all the evils and troubles of the Church have flowed from this fountain, namely, that the *Ministers of the Church of almost every order have very far declined from the sanctity and innocence of ancient times, so that hardly a vestige of them is to be seen.*”¹

The Dominican Friar George of St. James (the Dominicans were opposed to the Augustinians, Luther’s Order) compared the priests to “robbers,” and talked of the “infidel prelates of the day.” He accused the “clergy” and “rulers of the Church” of “worshipping the golden calf, to their ruin and to the scandal of the Church,” declaring that the errors and heresies in the Church had originated from these abuses, and that “prelates, dignitaries, and rich benefices were conferred on the unworthy and unlearned, and even on boys.”²

Friar Henry St. Jerome accused the priesthood of

¹ Ibid., col. 992. Oratio Petri Danesii, Oratoris Christ. Francorum Regis ad Synodum.

² Ibid., col. 1047.

“gluttony, ambition, and avarice” (col. 1047), and deplored that the rank and file of the Roman Church were steeped in drunkenness, “that womankind were never less modest, and young men never more unbridled, and old never more irreligious and foolish; in fact, never was there in all less fear of God, honour, virtue, and modesty, and never more carnal licentiousness, abuse, and irregularity.”

In the same volume we find many other similar discourses addressed to the Council, the next extract being a sample which I take from the speech of Peter Fragus, D.D. :—

“—And I testify, O most august Fathers, that this place, which, unworthy as I am, I have ascended, has never so much dreaded the dangers of the Christian republic, or dissensions, or schisms, as *our most corrupt morals and our offences*; more especially when I consider that we have fallen so low ‘that we can neither bear our ills nor their remedies.’”¹

As to the state of the priesthood in England, vice and sins of the lowest grade, and which brought down the wrath of God on the devoted cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, infested almost the entire brood.²

It was the same everywhere else. Cromer, the Romish Bishop of Varmia, in Poland, gave an account of the Roman priesthood as it existed only shortly previous to the Reformation, informing us that “they became objects of contempt and disgust,” “that there was no kind of vice they were not guilty of practising.” “Our sins,” he exclaims, “like Sodom, we proclaim far and abroad,” and much more he adds to the like effect.³

But the important fact which I desire to convey to

¹ Ibid., col. 1056. Oratio P. Fragi, Doc. Theol., ad Patres in Concilio Trid. habita, 1551.

² See Wilkin’s “Concil. Mag. Brit.,” vol. i., p. 362, et seq., London, 1737.

³ “Tabul. Eccles. Rom.,” publicavit E. S. Cyprianus, p. 205, Francof., 1743.

the reader is, that the Romish prelates themselves attribute the rise of what they are pleased to call heresies to the vices of their own priesthood. Cardinal Lawrence (St. Anastasia) declared at the Trent Council that the German heresy (Lutheranism) "had derived no little advantage, partly from the abandoned morals and lives of the clergy, partly from the no longer concealed abuse of the sacred ordinances and the ecclesiastical constitutions."¹ Statements to the same effect were made at the Synod convoked by Lippomani, the Papal Legate at Lowiez, 1556.²

Pope Pius V., a contemporary of our Elizabeth, bears testimony as well to the vices of the priesthood as to their effect in bringing about a change in religion. His biographer Gabutius³ published his Epistles with all due authority. In the Fourth Epistle in the First Book, addressed to the Archbishop of Saltsburg (17th June, 1566), Pope Pius V., wrote that:—

"He had been informed by the best authority on the spot, that the greater part of the beneficed clergy in Germany, who ought to set the best example, kept concubines openly, without fear of God or man, and introduced them in churches and public places like lawful wives, giving them the titles of their own dignities and offices; that from the contempt thus brought upon the clergy by themselves, they had lost all authority, and hence the increase of heresy, which [so adds the writer] can never be repressed till the abominable vice of concubinage is extirpated."

In the Ninth Epistle (A.D. 1567) to the Archbishop of Cambray, the Pope asserts "*the corrupt and depraved morals of the clergy to be the cause of heresies.*" In the Twelfth Epistle he further refers to the corrupt lives of the German prelates of the Church, who, forgetful of their duty and their own salvation, converted the revenues of the churches to

¹ Labb. et Coss. Concil., tom. xiv., col. 414, Paris, 1710.

² "Respon. Prælat. in Conc. Lovitiensi." In Mansi. Suppl., tom. v., col. 709.

³ "De Vitâ et Rebus Gestis Pii V., Pont. Max, cum Privilegio Romæ." Ex Typog. A. Zannetti, mdcv., superiorum auctoritate.

the indulgence of their pleasures, luxury, and secular vanities." And again in the Fourteenth Epistle, book ii. (A.D. 1568), the Pope complains of the "ignorance and corrupt morals of the Bohemian clergy." And in the Twentieth Epistle, book ii., he charges "the clergy as depraved by the daily practices of vice."

If, then, some who left the Church of Rome when in this state of seething corruption, and joined the Reformers, proved to be "thorns" and "thistles," surely the condemnation should be reserved for those whose vices rendered a Reformation needful, and should not be bestowed on those who severed themselves from immorality, vice, and superstition. It is, therefore, no argument to urge against Luther, or against any of the leading Reformers, that some who, perhaps for worldly motives, joined the Reformed Church, continued to commit such vices and excesses as were freely and publicly practised in the community they professed to have abandoned.

CONCLUSION.

SUCH then are some of the leading and most important charges against the great Reformer, LUTHER. He was the first fearlessly and alone to brave the thunders of the Vatican. He broke the spell which bound Europe to the wheels of the Roman Juggernaut. We bless the hand that struck the blow by which the bright light of Gospel truth penetrated through the thick clouds of error and superstition.

I cannot more appropriately conclude than with the words of our immortal MILTON:—

"When I recall to mind at last after so many dark ages wherein the huge overshadowing train of error had almost swept all the stars out of the firmament of the Church, how the BRIGHT AND BLISSFUL REFORMATION,

by divine power, struck through the black and settled night of ignorance and anti-Christian tyranny, methinks a sovereign and reviving joy must needs rush into the bosom of him that reads or hears, and the sweet odour of the returning Gospel imbathes his soul with the fragrantcy of heaven. Then was the sacred Bible sought out of the dusty corners, where profane falsehood and neglect had thrown it; the schools opened; divine and human learning raked out of the embers of forgotten tongues; the provinces and cities trooping apace to the newly-erected banner of salvation; the martyrs, with the irresistible might of truth, shaking the powers of darkness, and scorning the fiery rage of the old red dragon."

THE END.

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